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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF ANTONIO GRAMSCI AND PAULO FREIRE'S IDEAS RELEVANT TO ADULT EDUCATION

BY

PETER MAYO

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF EDUCATION

IN

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DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS

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SPRING 1988

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF ANTONIO GRAMSCI AND PAULO FREIRE'S IDEAS RELEVANT TO ADULT EDUCATION submitted by PETER MAYO in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education in Sociology of Education.

.....
Supervisor

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Date: 3/3/88

DEDICATION

Whatever is of value in this Thesis is dedicated to my family.

ABSTRACT

Antonio Gramsci (1891-1987) and Paulo Freire (b. 1921) are widely regarded as two of this Century's foremost proponents of a theory of adult education for radical political change. This Thesis attempts a comparative analysis of their ideas relevant to adult education.

The work of these two writers is first contextualized, following which there are separate expositions of their ideas regarding non-formal and, in the case of Gramsci, informal education. Their respective ideas are examined within the context of the theoretical frameworks in which these have been expressed. Gramsci's ideas are analysed in relation to his general theories regarding Hegemony and the role of the Intellectuals. Freire's ideas are examined in relation to his theory regarding the process of ideological domination. They are also viewed in relation to the pre and post revolutionary contexts.

A comparison is attempted in the final Chapter where it is shown that the two writers express parallel views on such issues as economic-determinism, participation, the process of adult education through praxis and the role which adult education can play in projecting a new Culture - Weltanschauung.

There are obviously many differences between the two writers' ideas relevant to adult education. A consideration of these

differences is however attempted and leads to the conclusion that each writer stresses that which the other either overlooks or underplays. It is therefore argued that the two complement each other and that there exists the basis for a synthesis regarding their ideas relevant to adult education. It is stressed that such a synthesis needs to be developed at a higher level of theoretical discussion.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Sardinian social and political theorist, Antonio Gramsci (1891 - 1937) and the Brazilian educationist, Paulo Freire (b. 1921), are widely regarded as two of this century's foremost proponents of a theory of education for radical politics (Entwistle, 1979 ; Youngman, 1986). Although almost twenty years separate the work of one from the other[1] and the contexts within which they worked appear to have been different[2], it would be possible to develop a complementarity thesis regarding their writings on education, without obscuring, in any way, the many differences that existed between them.

The focus throughout this Thesis will be placed on adult education. Freire wrote almost exclusively on

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1 Gramsci was still at work on The Prison Notebooks (Quaderni del Carcere) in 1936, the penultimate year of his life (Festa, 1976 : 14). Freire, for his part, is believed to have first expressed his thought on the philosophy of education in 1959 (Shaull, 1970 : 11).

2 Gramsci was very much concerned with the formulation of a revolutionary strategy for the working class which would be applicable in the context of a Western Capitalist society characterized by regional differentiation, uneven levels of development and competing factions or groups within a single social class. Freire was primarily concerned with the formulation of a strategy for the conscientization of the Oppressed in underdeveloped countries. Unlike Freire, Gramsci wrote extensively on the problems of industrialization. However, he ventures into other issues. In the second and final Chapters, I shall address these issues which indicate that there are affinities between the two theorists' respective contexts.

this topic and while Gramsci's work will be used as a source of contrast, the Thesis will be limited to those writings by the Italian social theorist that are relevant to adult education.

1. Use of the Term 'Adult Education'

The term 'adult education' lends itself to various interpretations, as indicated by Peter Jarvis in his 1985 publication, The Sociology of Adult and Continuing Education. Jarvis posits that two forms of adult education exist, namely liberal adult education and radical adult education (Jarvis, 1985 : 34).[3] The former is considered by the English sociologist to be of the type that "presupposes the freedom of the individual to pursue his own interests" (Jarvis, 1985 : 38). He states, however, that it has often been argued that only a few individuals can enjoy such freedom, normally at the expense of other individuals' liberty (Jarvis, 1985 : 36). In contrast, he considered radical adult education to be of the type that

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3 In distinguishing between liberal and radical adult education, Jarvis fails to take into account the existence of what may be regarded as a 'Conservative' adult education. The adult education activities engaged in by fundamentalist groups may be regarded as of this kind. The same can be said of the kind of education in Latin America provided by what Freire (1985) terms the 'traditional church'. One may argue that several non-formal educational practices mentioned by La Belle (1986) in relation to Human Capital Theory can be regarded as 'conservative' in nature in that they are 'palliatives' intended to preserve the status quo.

"starts from the presupposition that the individual is constrained by social structures that prevent him pursuing his own interests" (p. 38). According to Jarvis, it is argued that, since these structures constrain individuals unequally, they therefore ought to be replaced. Adult education should liberate the people with a view to enabling them to "act back" upon these structures and therefore build a more egalitarian society (Jarvis, 1985 : 38).

While this Thesis will be dealing with the theories of radical adult education, with which both Gramsci and Freire were concerned, it will also touch on elements of liberal education. Both Gramsci and Freire appear to be concerned in their writings with a theory of radical adult education. It is therefore with this particular theory that this thesis is concerned. This is not to say, however, that elements of liberal adult education would not be dealt with in this work. Quoting Hirst, Jarvis points out that liberal education "frees the mind to function according to its true nature, freeing reason from error and illusion..." (Jarvis, 1985 : 36). He goes on to argue that, as a result of this process of mental liberation:

> "the individual may develop a profound dissatisfaction with the society in which he lives and wish to reform it either gradually or dramatically in a revolutionary form. In this instance, the result of an educational activity,

that may have been regarded as liberal, may only be interpreted as radical" (Jarvis, 1985 : 37).

A liberal education can therefore be conducive to a radical end. This appears to be true, to a certain extent, of some of Gramsci's educational ideas. In the Italian theorist's work, aspects of what Jarvis refers to as a liberal education exist within the general framework of a radical political strategy. Therefore, ideas relating to the concept of a liberal education will be considered pertinent to this thesis, despite the fact that the main concern will be with a theory of radical adult education.

But one needs to go a step further and point out that, according to Coombs and Ahmed, education, be it of the 'liberal' or 'radical' type, can be viewed in its formal, non-formal and informal aspects (La Belle, 1986 : 2). Formal education is defined by the two authors as the "institutionalized, chronologically graded and hierarchically structured educational system, spanning lower primary school and the upper reaches of the university" (cited in La Belle, 1986 : 2).

Most radical adult education is, however, of the informal and non-formal kind. The former is defined by the two authors as the "lifelong process by which every person

acquires and accumulates knowledge, skills and the insights from daily experiences and exposure to the environment" (cited in La Belle, 1986 : 2).

Non-formal education is, on the other hand, defined as "any organized[4], systematic educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning experiences to particular subgroups in the population, adults as well as children" (cited in La Belle, 1986 : 2).

Throughout this Thesis, the focus will be directed on adult education of the informal and non-formal type. For instance, reference will be made, in the discussion on Gramsci, to the role which journalism can play in the education of adults. The education provided in such a context may be regarded as of the informal type. This Thesis will include a discussion of the revolutionary potential for workers and peasants that is inherent in systematically organized educational activities which are pursued outside the formal system and, at times, in direct relation to the production process. The education provided in this context may be regarded as of the non-formal type.

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4 My emphasis.

2. Gramsci and Freire's Relationship with Radical Adult Education

In the foregoing section, the particular area of adult education with which the Thesis will be concerned has been identified. It would therefore be opportune at this stage to comment briefly on the connection between each of the two writers in question and radical adult education.

The name Paulo Freire is, of course, associated with 'popular education', the kind of non-formal, adult education carried out among the impoverished masses of Latin America. Popular education is regarded by Torres (1987) as providing for the underprivileged social classes the skills necessary for them to survive within and challenge the existing social order. (P.1). The same author remarks, "the main aims of this paradigm, inspite of its Latin American origins, are similar to those of the radical paradigm of working class education in Europe" (p. 1). The latter must be one of the paradigms Jarvis has in mind when writing about a radical, adult education. Moreover, in the same paper, Torres (1987) goes on to state that this kind of radical adult education includes 'critical literacy training' on Freirean lines (p. 2), therefore stressing the connection between Paulo Freire, popular education and radical adult education.

Freire appears to mistrust the formal schooling system, whose function is considered in radical circles to be that of reproducing existing power relations and disseminating the ruling ideology.[5] He also reveals awareness of the fact that, in most underdeveloped countries, schools are accessible to only a small percentage of the rural population. Freire therefore explores the potential for counter-hegemony inherent outside the formal sector. He is famous for having devised, in adult education programmes, the means whereby literacy is "closely tied to the political realities of land and food and health care and the personal empowerment of people who were victims of oppression" (Kozol, 1985:95). In Freire's work, the word is, as Kozol points out, "not divorced from the world" (Kozol, 1985:95).

Gramsci's association with radical adult education is also considered to be a strong one, particularly in Latin American circles. He is believed to have exercised considerable influence on people involved with 'popular education' (La Belle, 1986 : 185). Moreover, the issue of a radical adult education is given prominence in Gramsci's writings, the reason being that he considered the teaching

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5 Referring to the ideas of H. Giroux (1981, 1983), I shall argue, in Chapter 3, that this process of reproduction is not necessarily a smooth one.

of partisan, political truths to be the responsibility of this particular sector of the education process and not of the school. As such, his ideas on adult education appear to have been of immediate strategic importance for the mobilization of the working class during the time that he was politically active in Turin. Admittedly, following the collapse of the Factory Council Movement and the rise of Fascism, Gramsci reviewed his position regarding the role which radical adult education, mainly in the form of workers' education on the factory plant, can play in the pre-revolutionary context. However, this does not mean that he abandoned his faith in the revolutionary potential inherent in this type of activity. On the contrary, he must have continued to regard such activities as valid, provided that they were not carried out in isolation but as part of an attack on all fronts, a 'war of position' engaged in at the superstructural level. As such, his scattered and, at times, cryptic writings on radical adult education remain relevant within the context of his later theories. They continue to constitute an important component of his educational theory, a component which, on its own, would be worthy of every consideration and an in-depth analysis.

The remaining component of Gramsci's educational theory primarily consists of his writings on the School. These

writings may very much be regarded as a projection into the future and, therefore, of relevance only in a post-revolutionary context. It can therefore be argued that Gramsci could not have considered such writings as of immediate strategic importance for the organization of the working and peasant classes. This is not to say, however, that these writings do not contain ideas that have implications for a theory of adult education. These ideas would provide an interesting contrast with those expressed by Paulo Freire. For this reason, I would regard these ideas as worthy of every consideration in a discussion on Freire and Gramsci's writings on adult education.

Equally worthy of consideration are ideas relevant to the issue of culture. This issue constitutes an area of major concern in some of Gramsci's writings. They are characterized by continuous probings into the possibility of creating a common culture. I shall argue that Freire's adult educational writings also have implications for a theory regarding the creation of such a culture. This makes the issue of culture even more relevant to the discussion.

3. The Theoretical Framework

There exists a huge corpus of literature in the Sociology of Education in which it is argued that the

formal education system is partly responsible for the reproduction of the existing social relations of production, through which the working class is maintained in a position of subjugation. The Marxist philosopher, Louis Althusser, argues somewhat to this effect when conceiving of the School as 'an ideological state apparatus'. He states that, in acting as such an apparatus, the School provides capitalist social formations not only with the necessary labour skills but also with the means for the reproduction of the process whereby workers submit to the ruling ideology (Carnoy, 1982 : 94).

Althusser even maintains that schools reproduce the means by which "the agents of exploitation and repression" manipulate "correctly" the ruling ideology, so that "they too will provide for the domination of the ruling class 'in words'" (Althusser, cited in Carnoy, 1982 : 94).

Following in the tradition of Althusser are the French Marxists, Christian Baudelot and Roger Establet. They argue that, although the educational system appears to be open, it really serves to favour the Capitalist class in two ways. It separates students on a class basis into either a vocational or higher education stream. It also serves as a vehicle for the dissemination of the bourgeois ideology which is believed to include such myths as

meritocracy, equality of opportunity and reform liberalism (Mifflen, F.J., Mifflen, S.C., 1982 : 55). Baudelot and Establet believe that, through this ideology, members of the subordinate classes accept the system as morally just (Mifflen, F.J., Mifflen, S.C., 1982 : 55).

Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis are two other neo-Marxist theorists. The views which these two American economists express in their celebrated work, Schooling in Capitalist America (1976), are very much in the radical tradition of the type referred to above. As Hurn (1985) points out, their major contention is that "the educational system reinforces class inequalities in contemporary society" (p. 65). Moreover, they argue that there exists "a close correspondence between the social relationships which govern personal interaction in the workplace and the social relationships of the educational system" (Bowles, Gintis, 1976 : 12). The relationship varies according to the level of schooling, different levels of education feeding workers into "different levels within the occupational structure..." (Bowles, Gintis, 1976 : 132). They even point out that the social relationships of a school's different tracks reflect the students' social background and the economic position they are most likely to hold in future. So, according to the analysis of Bowles and Gintis (1976):

> "...predominantly working class schools tend to emphasize behavioural control and rule following, while schools in well-to-do suburbs employ relatively open systems that favor greater student participation, less direct supervision, more student electives and, in general, a value system stressing internalized standards of control" (p. 132).

The aforementioned people are just a few of the many social theorists who take a penetrating and critical look at the educational system[6], positing that the liberal, meritocratic ideal is merely a myth serving to justify the bourgeois ideology and, therefore, dominance. Christopher J. Hurn (1985) sums up their efforts in this regard, by stating that radical critique "stresses the links between schools and the demands of elites rather than the needs of the whole society. It also stresses the connection between schooling and the learning of docility and compliance rather than the acquisition of cognitive skills" (p. 61).

This, in short, is what the foregoing radical critiques of the educational system are all about. It ought to be

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6 Of particular relevance, here, is the work of Pierre Bourdieu. In formulating his 'Cultural Capital Theory', Pierre Bourdieu posits that the higher educational achievement of the upper and middle classes is due not to genetic factors but to the cultural prerequisites which children from these classes obtain in the home (Mifflen, F.J., Mifflen, S.C., 1982 : 64, 65). As Christopher Hurn points out, Bourdieu arrives at the conclusion that "Schools work to conceal the real character of domination by teaching that there is only one legitimate culture and one form of approved consciousness - that of the highly educated elite" (Hurn, 1985 : 214).

remarked, however, that such theories as those formulated by Althusser, Baudelot and Establet and the Americans, Bowles and Gintis, are criticized by many (including, in Bowles and Gintis' case, the authors themselves) on the grounds that they are somewhat mechanistic. It is often argued (eg. Giroux, 1983) that these critiques convey a sense of helplessness, that nothing can be done to challenge bourgeois dominance.

Both Giroux (1983), and Apple (1982), feel that this dominance can be challenged. Giroux, for instance, conceives of the School as the vehicle whereby not only bourgeois dominance but also the social contradictions are reproduced. He therefore explores the potential for a counter-hegemonic education. There are those who would argue, however, that this counter-hegemonic education can only take place outside the formal school system. This is where the writings by Gramsci and Freire become relevant. Both writers are non-mechanistic in their approach to educational problems. Moreover, both explore the potential for a revolutionary educational process existing in the field of non-formal and informal radical adult education. In Gramsci's case, the areas would be those provided by the factory councils, cultural associations for workers, the trade unions, journalism and the working class party. For

Freire, the vehicles for such an education would be the method of the generative word, the cultural circle, the 'prophetic' church and literacy campaigns. These are the educational sources which will constantly be referred to throughout the separate expositions and eventual comparison of their respective views on adult education. Gramsci and Freire are foremost exponents of the kind of radical, counter- hegemonic education which many regard as capable of challenging bourgeois dominance.

4. Significance of the Research

One may argue that such a comparison would, hopefully, shed some light on issues which are relevant to any attempt to develop a radical theory of adult education. Moreover, in juxtaposing the ideas of one theorist against those of the other, one would be providing an indication that there may be different sides to an issue which it is nowadays fashionable to approve of or dismiss categorically as 'progressive' or 'reactionary'. The section in the final Chapter that deals with the differences between Gramsci and Freire's pedagogical ideas has been developed with this purpose in mind.

There is also the question of participation by the learner to be considered and, throughout this Thesis, this concept will be given the importance attached to it by both

theorists. Participation is the key word in Gramsci's writings on the Turin Factory Council Movement. This concept is also central to Freire's adult educational strategy which entails a dialogical proeess of learning involving the eradication of barriers between educator and educatee and the need for learners to become the creators of their own texts and knowledge.

The concept of a participatory democracy appears to be a very popular one nowadays and the whole theory of Lifelong Education, which has been one of UNESCO's master concepts for education, appears to be geared towards the creation of this type of democracy (cf. Wain, 1985 ; Mayo, 1985). Therefore, a piece of research on theories regarding a participative education becomes highly relevant in this day and age.

5. The Respective Contexts

Having commented on the significance of this piece of research, one may now prepare the ground for the actual comparison. A few preliminary considerations are, however, still necessary at this stage. Both Gramsci and Freire need to be contextualized historically since certain aspects of the background to their writings have to be borne in mind as one reads through this Thesis.

The following section, therefore, will contain brief and separate outlines of the two theorists' respective contexts. At the start of the final Chapter, a closer look at these contexts will be made with a view to determining any affinities that may exist between them.

(a) Gramsci

The Italian Peninsula during the first part of this Century provides the context for Gramsci's writings. Despite the Country's Unification in the Nineteenth Century, profound differences existed between the Northern and Southern regions. The North, including Piedmont, Lombardy and Venetia, was well developed economically, but the South, from where Gramsci hailed, was, to adopt Coser's phrase, "only on the margin of modern European civilization" (Coser, 1977 : 414). The Southern Regions had all the characteristics of the so-called 'Third World'. The population was predominantly rural and illiteracy was widespread in this Region.

In contrast, illiteracy was down to eleven per cent in Piedmont (Coser, 1977 : 414), the most industrially advanced region in the Peninsula. Turin, the major city in the Region and Italy's first Capital, was, and still is, the home of FIAT, the car manufacturing industry owned by the Agnelli Family. Thirty per cent of the population of

over 500,000 who inhabited Turin around 1918 worked in industry (Hoare, Nowell Smith, 1977 : XXV). The Turin Working Class was considered to be 'advanced' and enjoyed a tradition of industrial and political organization. It was also very militant and ever so ready to take to the streets (Hoare, Nowell Smith, 1977 : XXVI). It proved this on quite a number of occasions, especially in August 1917 when, in the course of a four day insurrection triggered off by a failure of bread supplies, no less than fifty workers were killed, and one thousand were either imprisoned or sent to the front (Hoare, Nowell Smith, 1977 : XXXII).

Turin was, in short, imbued with a strong revolutionary spirit, one which rendered it Italy's 'Red Capital'. This spirit was enhanced by the news of the October Revolution in Russia which generated a feeling among the Turin workers that a similar event in Western Europe was imminent. The revolutionary fervour almost reached its climax with the famous 'Occupation of the Factories' in September 1920, an 'activity' in which Gramsci was greatly involved. The eventual surrender of the factory occupiers was soon followed by the rise of Fascism in Italy (Mussolini marched on Rome in 1922), the dark period in Italian politics which provides the background to Gramsci's prison writings. The period during which Gramsci was politically active in Turin

was also one marked by great innovations in the field of culture, with the emergence of the Futurist Movement (Marinetti, Boccioni, Balla etc.) and the first stagings of the highly acclaimed, unconventional plays of Luigi Pirandello, one of Europe's most influential dramatists.

(b) Freire

Latin America and Africa provide the geographical contexts for Freire's writings. His early work was carried out in Brazil, a country enjoying a period characterized by the emergence and mobilization of popular forces under the 'Populist' Regime of Joao Goulart. Following Goulart's overthrow by the Military in 1964 and Freire's subsequent expulsion from the Country, Chile became the centre for the Brazilian educator's literacy activities. Under the Christian-Democrat Administration of Eduardo Frei, Chile underwent a process of preparation for the later period during which the lands were to be distributed to the peasants.

Taken in its entirety, the Latin American context that provides the background to the Early Freire had two important characteristics: the existence of a Socialist State in the Region, the result of a successful revolution, and the emergence, in certain countries, of industrially developed centres alongside underdeveloped areas and

regions characterized by high levels of illiteracy. The illiterates are mainly to be found both in the rural areas and on the periphery of the major cities. Those living on the periphery are normally people with a recent peasant past (Torres, 1982 : 88).

The African context is also one characterized by a predominantly rural population but without the presence of an industrial proletariat. The countries involved were, at the time of Freire's activities in Africa, enjoying the first stages of the post-independence period, some of them (eg. Guinea Bissau) having emerged from the ravages of the Colonial Wars. The former Portuguese and British colonies are, in the main, countries wherein numerous indigenous languages are spoken and wherein such linguistic expressions as Creole and Swahili act as a lingua franca.

6. Presentation of Material

Now that the work of the two theorists has been contextualized, one may comment on the manner in which the material will be presented.

Chapter II will consist of a theoretical exposition and analysis of Antonio Gramsci's ideas that may be considered relevant to adult education. The first section of this Chapter will consist of an exposition of such key Gramscian

concepts as Hegemony and the closely related ones of Civil Society and the Historical Bloc. Gramsci's pedagogical and cultural views are very much related to these concepts. The second section will deal with the adult educational role of the intellectuals in creating a hegemony. The next section will focus on such important issues in the debate on adult education as the relationship between learning and production, the potential inherent in highbrow and popular culture for the emancipation of the subordinate classes and the role of such sources of informal education as journalism. In the final section, some consideration will be given to the implications which Gramsci's writings on the 'Common School' may have for a process of radical adult education.

A similar treatment will be afforded, in Chapter III, to Paulo Freire's pedagogical ideas. Their relevance to both a pre and post revolutionary context will also be examined. The focus of the analysis in this Chapter will be the ideas expressed by Freire in his English Language publications.

The comparative analysis will take place in Chapter IV. In the first section of this chapter, a comparative look at the respective contexts for Freire and Gramsci's works will be made. In the next section, an attempt will

be made to draw out parallels existing between the two theorists' ideas that are relevant to Adult education. Important differences between their ideas will be drawn out in the Chapter's final section in which a complementarity thesis, the basis for a synthesis, is formulated.

CHAPTER II

AN EXPOSITION AND ANALYSIS OF GRAMSCI'S IDEAS RELEVANT TO ADULT EDUCATION

The Sardinian born Marxist ideologue, Antonio Gramsci, has made a distinct contribution to modern social theory. He was concerned with the development of a revolutionary strategy which would prove effective in the context of a highly complex Western capitalist society characterized by regional differentiation, uneven levels of development and competing factions within the various social strata. Adult education features prominently among the topics dealt with by Gramsci in his scattered, fragmentary writings which appear to have been directed towards the formulation of such a strategy. This chapter will be confined to an exposition of Gramsci's ideas which are of relevance to adult education in its formal, non-formal and informal aspects. And these ideas will be viewed in the light of his all-embracing theory of hegemony and the role of intellectuals.

Some of Gramsci's ideas concerning adult education were of immediate strategic importance for the mobilization of the working class during the time that he was politically active in Italy in the 1920's. Gramsci also wrote on the

school and these writings were, on the other hand, related to the post-revolutionary stage, even though they were provoked by contemporary education reforms. Nevertheless, they contain ideas that have implications for a theory of adult education. They would therefore be worthy of every consideration in this discussion.

The first section of this chapter will consist of an exposition of Gramsci's view of hegemony and the closely related concepts of Civil Society and the Historical Bloc. Those views of his, which are of relevance to adult education, have, perforce, to be seen in the light of these two concepts. The second section will focus on the educative role played by the intellectuals in the creation and strengthening of a hegemony. In the third section, an attempt will be made to provide a coherent view of Gramsci's theory regarding the function of adult education in the context of the type of hegemony he had in mind, taking into account the role which culture, both 'highbrow' and 'popular', can play in this regard. The fourth and final section will consist of an exposition of those Gramscian ideas regarding the school which would be of relevance to a theory of adult education.

1. Hegemony

The term 'hegemony' is strongly associated with Gramsci's work. Nevertheless, it had been employed earlier by both Lenin and Stalin with reference to the role that political leadership plays in the proletariat's mobilization as part of an alliance of classes (Morrow, 1987 : 4). Gramsci attributes the "theorization and realization" of the concept to Lenin, regarding it as the Soviet Revolutionary Leader's "major theoretical contribution to the philosophy of praxis" (cited in Morrow, 1987 : 4). When used by Lenin, the term takes on "an instrumental, strategic meaning", thus lacking the cultural resonance of Gramsci's theory of revolution (Morrow, 1987 : 4).

Gramsci employed the term 'hegemony' to describe how the domination of one class over another is achieved by a combination of political and ideological means (Abercrombie et al, 1984 : 99). Two key words in Gramsci's conception of hegemony are those of 'coercion' (dominio) and 'consent'[1] ('direzione', which really means leadership by consent). These two levels of domination correspond to the

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1 This immediately recalls Max Weber's theory of legitimacy, founded on the distinction between coercion and voluntary consent (Morrow, 1987 : 5). Considering the specific context of Gramsci's writings, one may state that Gramsci developed his theory of hegemony out of the traditional distinction, in Italian political thought, between force and consent (Morrow, 1987 : 5).

'dual nature' of Macchiavelli's Centaur, namely that of half-animal and half-human (Morrow, 1987 : 5). Included among the levels relating to the Centaur are those of "force and consent, authority and hegemony, violence and civilization..." (Gramsci, 1971 : 170).

Gramsci maintains that although coercion (political force) is always given importance throughout the process of domination of one class over the subaltern one, ideology may play a more significant role in winning the consent of the dominated classes. The balance between force and consent varies from society to society, the latter being more pronounced in Capitalist societies (Abercrombie et al, 1984 : 99).[2] According to this theory, the dominant class must engage in some kind of 'educational' relationship with the subaltern classes in order to shape their consciousness and, in so doing, secure the required legitimacy.

According to Gramsci, the State was the instrument of political force, while ideological domination was achieved by the institutions of 'Civil Society,' a term originally

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2 In certain underdeveloped Third World countries, a process of ideological domination also takes place. However, the coercive element, referred to by L. Althusser as the 'repressive state apparatus', is certainly much more in evidence. In reality, though, sharp distinctions between coercion and consent cannot really be made. As Poulantzas points out, ideological apparata do contain a strong element of coercion. The school would be a prime example of this (Carnoy, 1982 : 100).

attributed to Hegel. Hegel's notion of 'Civil Society' embraced both commercial and industrial life. In the hands of Gramsci, however, the term was stripped of its economic connotations to become associated with what is often referred to as the 'ideological superstructure' (Morrow, 1987 : 6). Schools and other sources of education and culture would, naturally, feature prominently among these institutions of 'civil society.'

These institutions are considered by Gramsci to be extremely powerful in western, capitalist societies, so powerful that, through their presence, the State becomes "only an outer ditch." The institutions of Civil Society operate behind the State as "a powerful system of fortresses and earthworks" (Gramsci, 1971 : 238) so that whenever the state 'trembles' a "sturdy structure of civil society" (Gramsci, 1971 : 238) makes its presence felt.

As such, mere 'direct action' by the masses would not suffice to bring about a political transformation and lead towards the creation of a new hegemony.[3] In Gramsci's view, the mass of workers needs more than just 'militancy' and the "myth of the general strike" in order to bring

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3 This is a form of 'Leninism' in Gramsci which makes him critical of the types of spontaneism and syndicalism advocated by Georges Sorel and Rosa Luxemburg (Merrington, 1977 : 157).

about political and social change. He considered the "general strike" to be a "passive activity...an activity which does not envisage an 'active and constructive' phase of its own" (Gramsci, 1971 : 127). 'Militancy', assumed by Clark (1977) to involve the securing of concessions within the existing economic system (p.6), must have been regarded by Gramsci as being capable of providing "only short-term or illusory benefits" (Clark, 1977 : 6) and therefore not likely to effect a change in the political and economic structure. Gramsci believed that any group or class aspiring towards establishing its own hegemony in Western capitalist society has to engage in a 'war of position', a kind of political trench warfare, which entails a struggle engaged on a wide range of fronts.

The State, as it is commonly known, constitutes only one aspect of the society which the new group seeks to transform. It was regarded as only a facet of the bourgeois power that Gramsci's political strategies were intended to break. As such, a 'war of position' entailed for the proletariat a process of wide-ranging social organization and cultural influence. Only success in this regard would, according to Gramsci, make possible for the proletariat a frontal condition or 'war of movement', as a result of which state power would be finally secured (Showstack Sassoon, 1982 : 17).

The implication of this is that, according to Gramsci, a preliminary struggle has to be engaged in by the proletariat at the superstructural level. Throughout such a struggle, the emphasis is placed on the dissemination of a new and potentially transformative ideology. The acquisition of consensus and the alliances of other groups, or, more precisely, social forces, become the object of this struggle. After all, the dominant faction in the ruling bourgeois class succeeds in retaining its power through alliances with other factions or groups both from its own class and the subaltern ones. The aspiring proletarian group must, according to Gramsci, do likewise. It must create a new 'Historical Bloc', the term which Gramsci employs to describe the complex manner in which classes and factions of classes are related in a given society (Showstack Sassoon, 1982 : 14).

It is for this very reason, the need to create a historical bloc, that Gramsci maintained that the Italian Communist Party (PCI), of which he was one of the founders, should engage in a continuous dialogue with such sectors of the Italian working class as the Catholic masses. In so doing, he managed to lay the foundations for the kind of policy advocated by Palmiro Togliatti and believed by Giorgio Amendola (1978) to be the current policy of the P.C.I. - that of an encounter ("incontro") between masses

of workers of different orientation, including the Catholic ones (p. 37). The notion of the historical bloc was so dear to Gramsci's heart that it is considered to be the main reason why the Sardinian Marxist leader wanted the P.C.I.'s official organ to be called 'L'Unità'. This stood, and indeed still stands, for the unity of all social forces, of a historical bloc, achieved through the acquisition of a large consensus (Amendola, 1978 : 39).[4]

One way by which the prospective ruling group should, according to Gramsci, seek to secure the alliance of other groups, factions or classes is through engagement in the kind of counter-hegemonic activity that would project a new Culture-Weltanschauung. This new world view would appear to be superior to the rest and, in the words of Amendola (1978), would serve to instill in the potential allies the conviction that the prospective ruling group can come to grips with and indeed solve the country's major problems (p. 40). In projecting this view, the revolutionary group would be securing a profound change in mass consciousness

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4 Giorgio Amendola is a prominent figure in Italy's Communist Party. He has written extensively on the Fascist period in Italy and on the history of the P.C.I. The point made in this paper has been extracted from his 1978 publication, Antonio Gramsci nella vita culturale e politica italiana. The relevant sentence reads: "Non a caso il giornale del partito comunista lo voleva chiamare 'L'Unita' che non e' l'unita' di un partito, e' l'unita' di forze sociali, di un blocco storico che si deve formare attraverso la conquista di un largo consenso." (Amendola, 1978 : 39).

as a result of which it would be exercising leadership before the rise to power:

> "every revolution has been preceded by an intense labour of criticism, by the diffusion of culture and the spread of ideas amongst masses of men who are at first resistant, and think only of solving their own immediate economic and political problems for themselves, who have no ties of solidarity with others in the same condition."
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> (Gramsci, 1977 : 12)

Considering that the emphasis throughout the above citation is placed on the dissemination of culture and the diffusion of ideas, it would not be amiss to say that Education and Culture emerge as two important institutions of civil society through which the war of position can be waged and the new historical bloc can be created. Like other superstructural elements, they can contribute towards the generation of social and political change. According to Gramsci, in advanced capitalist countries, the superstructures are capable of enjoying an autonomous existence. This marked one of Gramsci's decisive breaks with the kind of 'official' Marxism propounded by Plekhanov, Kautsky and Bukharin, and characterized by an evolutionary-determinist conception of history (Merrington, 1977 : 144). It also marked a decisive break with the sort of positivist-determinist views espoused by several Italian trade unionists and socialists at the time. These views led them to advocate a policy of reformism to which Gramsci

was naturally totally opposed (Clark, 1977 : 52). Like Lenin and Lukàcs, Gramsci rejected rigid 'economism' in all its forms, thus refraining from lapsing into a sort of catastrophic fatalism in the face of events, a fatalism stemming from a strong belief in the forces of history and the inevitability of Capitalism's collapse as a result of its internal contradictions (Merrington, 1977 : 142). Gramsci likened such a fatalism to "a theory of grace and predestination" (Gramsci, 1957 : 75).

In a famous article, 'La Revoluzione contro il "Capitale" ' (The Revolution against 'Das Kapital'), published in 'Avanti!', Gramsci praised the Bolshevik Revolution precisely for having given the lie to the evolutionary-determinist conception of history. He wrote:

> "facts have overthrown the critical schema within which the history of Russia was supposed to be confined, according to the canons of historical materialism. The Bolsheviks deny Karl Marx, and affirm explicitly by their deeds that the canons of historical materialism are not so ironlike as might be thought, and has been thought...(the Bolsheviks) are not Marxists, that's all" (cited in Clark, 1977 : 51).

In Gramsci's view, although various political and ideological formations do relate to and represent the interests of the dominant classes, they cannot be regarded as mere epiphenomena or derivatives of the structure (or economic base) and "are susceptible to different historical

forms and combinations which in turn react upon the structure" (Merrington, 1977 : 152). A change in these superstructures can have a bearing on the nature of the economy.

The educational and cultural institutions can therefore constitute an important area in this superstructural complex in which a struggle for change can take place. This implication of Gramsci's theory has not been lost on such contemporary educationists as Michael Apple (cf. Education and Power) and Henry Giroux (cf. Theory and Resistance in Education) who regard the educational system as suitable territory in which the existing hegemony can be resisted and counter-hegemonic activity can be engaged in. However, given Gramsci's advocacy of a 'war of position' characterized by a struggle for ideological domination 'on all fronts', one must add that such initial activities in the various areas of what is commonly regarded as the educational system, namely the sources of both formal and non-formal education, must be complemented by similar counter-hegemonic activities carried out within the other institutions of 'Civil Society.' Activities carried out in isolation would, in terms of Gramsci's concept of the historical bloc, be doomed to failure. All the institutions forming part of the superstructural complex are engaged in activities that may be regarded as

'educational', the term 'education' being used here in its wider context, incorporating its formal, non-formal and informal aspects. Gramsci makes an important statement to this effect when stating that "every relationship of hegemony is necessarily a pedagogical relationship" (cited by Torres, 1985 : 4793). It involves a process of transmission and inculcation of values.

Gramsci believes that, in Western Capitalist society, the whole complex of institutions, private and public, "legitimize bourgeois dominance by rendering its values and definitions universal because accepted as the definitive values of society as such" (Merrington, 1977 : 153). In this respect, Gramsci propounds a theory of intellectuals as 'experts in legitimation', who serve to mediate the ideological and political unity of the existing hegemony (Merrington, 1977 : 153).[5] These intellectuals are considered by Gramsci to be instrumental in the development and cementation of the historical bloc, in that they render the dominant ideology universal and therefore acceptable to the allied and subaltern groups (Merrington, 1977 : 153). In so doing, these intellectuals are indulging in an educational activity, in that they are engaged in moulding

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5 The intellectuals of a particular social group are conceived of by Gramsci as an elite.

the people's consciousness. It is to Gramsci's theory of the Intellectuals that this chapter now turns.

2. The Intellectuals

The foregoing points regarding Gramsci's view of the Intellectuals indicate that, unlike Karl Mannheim (1936), who affirms his belief in the possiblity of a "free-floating" or "socially unattached" intelligentsia ('freishwebende intelligenz'), Gramsci feels that the Intellectual is very much tied to a particular social group:

> "Every social group, coming into existence on the original terrain of an essential function in the world of economic production, creates together with itself, organically, one or more strata of intellectuals which give it homogeneity and an awareness of its own function, not only in the economic but also in the social and political fields."
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> (Gramsci, 1971 : 5)

Gramsci relates the role of the intellectuals to a capacity inherent in every person to think and reason (Showstack Sassoon, 1982 : 14) as well as to develop a personal view of the world. In his own words, "All men are intellectuals, one could therefore say: but not all men have in society the function of intellectuals" (Gramsci, 1971 : 9). The qualities of reasoning, thinking and developing a world view - regarded by Gramsci as providing

the basis for 'spontaneity' - are developed by certain people into a skill, mainly through practice and study (Showstack Sassoon, 1982 : 14).

It is the people in possession of such a skill who function as intellectuals. Gramsci distinguishes between two types of intellectuals. On the one hand, there are the traditional professional intellectuals, namely literary people, lawyers, scientists, philosophers, priests, teachers and so forth - intellectuals whose position derives from traditional class relations. On the other hand, there are the organic intellectuals who constitute the thinking and organizing functionaries of a particular social class striving to create a hegemony. In so far as his own country is concerned, Gramsci believes that it is the industrial North that has produced its own organic intellectuals in the form of "technicians for industry" (Gramsci, 1971 : 12). The industrially underdeveloped 'mezzogiornio' is believed to have produced state functionaries and professional men (Gramsci, 1971 : 12), the latter attesting to a strong presence of traditional intellectuals in the Region.

It is Gramsci's contention that a particular social group striving to create and consolidate a historical bloc would seek to "assimilate and conquer 'ideologically' the

traditional intellectuals" (Gramsci, 1971 : 10).[6] In his writings on post-Risorgimento Italy, Gramsci asserts that the Northern industrial bourgeoisie managed to create a historical bloc through an alliance with the Southern landowners. In the process of doing so, they succeeded in absorbing the Southern intellectuals and functionaries, on whom they exercised a 'spontaneous attraction' (Merrington, 1977 : 153, 154). It appears that the assimilation and ideological conquest of the Southern intelligentsia proved decisive in the creation of this bourgeois-Piedmontese hegemony. Nairn (1982) states that Gramsci inveighed against these intellectuals for having "sold out to the Piedmontese-Italian state apparatus", betraying "the Southern masses into a permanent internal colonialism and made all-Italian unity possible only at the cost of festering internal corruption and chronically uneven development" (p. 174). The alleged 'sell-out' must have always appeared to be possible for the very simple reason that the peasant class had failed to produce its own organic intellectuals and assimilate any stratum of its many traditional intellectuals (Gramsci, 1971 : 6).

Gramsci (1971) states that "a high proportion of

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6 These traditional intellectuals would be committing 'class suicide', to adopt the term attributed by Paulo Freire to Amilcar Cabral (Freire, 1978). In Latin America, traditional intellectuals such as Jesuit priests do commit 'class suicide' by espousing a theology of liberation, thus becoming organic to the subaltern classes, notably that of the campesinos.

traditional intellectuals are of peasant origin" (p. 6). However, these intellectuals renounced their class of origin and were drawn to other social groups.

Gramsci therefore believes that the possiblity of salvation for the peasants rested on the creation of a workers' state, one whereby the cities would "be welded to the countryside" (Gramsci, 1988 : 87). In his view, this state would place the peasants in a position, not only to hold on to their own traditional intellectuals, but also to create their own organic ones.[7]

However, it appears that Gramsci must have expected the industrial proletariat of the North to make the first decisive move towards the creation of this workers' state. The 'Taylorized' industrialization process, which had been taking place in the North, must have appeared to Gramsci to have been conducive to the generation of a proletarian consciousness. Furthermore, it was here that he had the first indications that the working class was being mobilized as a political force. The organic intellectuals which this particular class had to produce were to engage in the sort of educational relationship with the masses which enabled them not only to perceive the social

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7 These traditional intellectuals would thus become 'organic' to the very same social class that produced them.

contradictions characterizing their situation but also to understand the plight of their potential allies in the country. As Merrington (1977) states: "...the working class could not establish its hegemony 'without some sacrifice of its immediate interest' to the interests of all its potential allies in the society; in particular, in Italy, it would have to ally itself with the rural masses of the South" (p. 160).

The 'Southern Question' was considered by Gramsci to be the 'primordial problem' of Italian socialism (Merrington, 1977 : 160). As such, one would assume that bringing this question to the attention of the working class masses in Northern Italy was one of the primary educational tasks carried out by the intellectuals in their attempt to direct the masses towards the creation of a new historical bloc. This 'bloc' would be characterized by a truly 'national-popular' alliance based on equality between North and South (Showstack Sassoon, p. 15).

According to Gramsci, part of this task consisted in impressing upon the many rural workers who entered the urban factories during the War, the need to "act as a bond between the town and countryside" (Gramsci, 1977 : 87). Gramsci states that, because of "their profound understanding of the rural psychology and the confidence

they inspire", they would prove instrumental in developing those institutions which would draw the rural workers towards the new proletarian movement (Gramsci, 1977 : 87).

The other important educational task of these organic, proletarian intellectuals, acting in the capacity of 'dirigenti', that is, activists entrusted with the task of directing the masses, was that of cultivating, 'tutoring' the positive aspects of what Gramsci refers to as the element of 'spontaneity'. He applies this term with reference to the unconscious world view which, he believed, was possessed by everyone and was the product of one's material existence and 'practical' activity. This particular world view, often referred to by Gramsci as 'popular philosophy', is believed to be characterized by a peculiar concoction of "religion, superstition, folklore, daily empirical experience and 'science'" (Entwistle, 1979 : 33).[8] Gramsci often uses the term 'common sense' with reference to the foregoing. He believes that such factors as folklore, and superstition, which seem to distort reality, prevent 'common sense' from being converted into what he terms 'good sense'. The latter is considered by Prestipino to be the "positive potential of common sense"

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8 The elements of superstition and folklore constituted an important aspect of the way of life that the young Gramsci was exposed to, one "riddled with witchcraft, spell-casting and belief in the supernatural" (a biographer cited in Nairn, 1982 : 160).

(cited in Entwistle, 1979 : 33), a state of mind shorn of its superstition and folklore and characterized by a 'coherent unity' (Entwistle, 1979 : 33).

As such, converting 'common sense' into 'good sense' must have been regarded by Gramsci as one of the most important educational tasks of the organic proletarian intellectual. This task entails the transformation of a fragmentary view of the world into a coherent one. This appears to be based on the belief that spontaneous movements can become a positive political factor only through the application of 'conscious direction' (Merrington, 1977 : 173). Intellectuals had a important role to play in effecting the desired unity between 'spontaneity' and 'conscious direction', considered to be the real political action of the subaltern classes (Merrington, 1977 : 173). It is believed that, when left uneducated and without conscious direction, 'spontaneity' could possibly lead to mindless activism.

So far, the possible roles intended by Gramsci to be fulfilled by the intellectuals in their capacity as 'dirigenti' have been identified. Since these intellectuals would be engaged in the education of the

workers, then, their field of activity would be that of radical adult education. In the section following, an attempt will therefore be made to provide a coherent exposition of what may be regarded as Gramsci's theory of adult education, taking into account the media and institutional settings through which the intellectuals' activities in this field can be carried out.

3. Adult Education

Gramsci saw direct political education as being the domain of adult education, a view which would have found support from the man who no doubt provided the main source of inspiration for Gramsci's writings and political activities - Karl Marx. In his address to the General Council of the International in 1869, Marx stated that those truths that appear to be partisan and derive from 'party prejudices' should not be conveyed in the schools. Marx added something to the effect that only adults should be allowed to form their opinions on these issues "about which instruction should be given in the lecture hall, not in the schools" (paraphrased from Entwistle, 1979 : 176). Lenin appears to have expressed similar views (Entwistle, 1979 : 176).

Furthermore, the emphasis throughout Gramsci's theory regarding the intellectuals is placed on the need to 'educate' and 'direct' the masses. The task of mobilizing the industrial working class was an immediate one. It may have appeared futile to expect an upheaval to take place in that institution of Civil Society that is the School and, subsequently, await the emergence of a new, radically minded generation. In so doing, one would have been acting like the two tramps who forever await Godot's arrival! So it was in the potentially more flexible and 'independent' sector of non-formal, adult education that those intellectuals who were organic to the working class had to carry out their radical, counter-hegemonic, educational activity.

Many are apt to believe that trade unionism is likely to provide an ideal sector through which a truly proletarian adult educational process can take place, a process governed by the philosophy of praxis (conscious and transformative practical activity).[9] For instance, the T.U.C. in England has been actively involved in the adult education of workers. Suffice to mention its strong connection with such centres of adult education as, for

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9 It is also governed by the much related Marxian ideal of a socialist education characterized by a strong relationship between production and consciousness.

instance, Ruskin College at Oxford. And it is to England as well as Germany that Gramsci appears to have looked for inspiration in his attempt to conceive of an effective programme of workers' education (Entwistle, 1979 : 177).

However, trade unionism ('sindicalismo') did not appeal to Gramsci. He believed that the Trade Union could not organize the proletariat. In 1919, Gramsci wrote in 'L'Ordine Nuovo', the periodical of socialist culture which he, together with Tasca, Terracini and Togliatti, launched on 1st May of the same year (Festa, 1976 : 12), that the Trade Union is a form of capitalist society and not a potential successor to that society. The Italian Unions with which Gramsci was concerned appeared to have had 'reformism' as their guiding principle (Clark, 1977 : 66). In Gramsci's view, one of the problems with reformists is that they "believe in the perpetuity and fundamental perfections of the institutions of the democratic state. In their view, the form of these democratic institutions can be corrected, touched up here and there, but in fundamentals must be respected" (Gramsci, 1977 : 76). In being reformist, they could not pave the way for the establishment of a New Order. Gramsci also felt that the Trade Union promoted 'militancy' which, as already indicated, could only secure short term benefits and does

not imply the ability to provide a political and economic alternative (Clark, 1977 : 6). It merely acts in the interests of capitalism. Gramsci also states that it organizes workers as wage earners and not as producers, "as creatures of the capitalist, private property regime, selling the commodity labour" (Gramsci, 1977 : 109-13).

Gramsci seems to have believed that, in order to attain political consciousness, the worker had to transcend his corporate interests as a wage earner since these interests are determined by the capitalist wage relation. What the proletariat needed, according to Gramsci, was an institution which would help it to take charge of and exert full control over its practical and 'life' activity, to participate fully in the productive process and, in so doing, pave the way for the establishment of a new proletarian hegemony.[10] The Factory Council Movement

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10 This new institution had, according to Gramsci, to transcend the industrial and political framework imposed by Capitalism and project the image of a new participatory society. As Gramsci says:

> "The Socialist State already exists potentially in the institutions of social life characteristic of the exploited working class. To link these institutions, co-ordinating and ordering them into a highly centralized hierarchy of competences and powers, while respecting the necessary autonomy and articulation of each, is to create a genuine workers' democracy here and now - a workers' democracy in effective and active opposition to the bourgeois State, and prepared to replace it here and now in all its essential functions of administering and controlling the national heritage" (Gramsci, 1977 : 66).

in Turin, of which Gramsci had become an 'animator' in the Autumn of 1919 (Festa, 1976 : 12), attempted to accomplish these tasks. Although it appears that some people did regard them as constituting a form of syndicalism, these councils fulfilled the role of a "politically educative institution" (Merrington, 1977 : 158). Gramsci states that the Factory Councils were intended to provide the means whereby the proletariat could "educate itself, gather experience and acquire a responsible awareness of the duties incumbent upon classes that hold the power of the state" (cited in Merrington, 1977 : 159), an important step for the working class in the direction of "exercising leadership before winning Government power' (Gramsci, 1971 : 57). Moreover, part of the education imparted consisted of a process whereby every worker would participate in the running of his own factory - a process through which the worker would exercise direct democratic control over the production process. As Merrington (1977) remarks, production constituted one area where "democracy was crucially denied in a capitalist society" (p. 158).

In order that the workers can be in a position to partake of industrial democracy, they have to emerge from a state of alienation, characterized by their being only a 'partial operation' in the productive process or, as Gramci says, "cogwheels in the mechanism of capitalist production"

(cited in Merrington, 1977 : 158). It was Gramsci's view that the workers had to become 'subjects.' In this respect, Gramsci declares that one of the Council's goals was that of making the worker see himself "as an inseparable part of the whole labour system which is concentrated in the object being manufactured..." (Gramsci, 1977 : 110). It was felt by Gramsci that the worker can regard himself as a producer only "if he experiences the unity of the industrial process which in toto demands collaboration between manual workers, skilled workers, administrative employees, engineers and technical directors" (Gramsci, 1977 : 110). Such knowledge would, according to Gramsci, be conducive to a greater understanding of the workings of society which would render the worker an active participant in the life of the 'polis':

> "At this point the worker has become a producer, for he has acquired an awareness of his role in the process of production at all levels, from the workshop to the nation and the world."
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> (Gramsci, 1977 : 111)

The imparting of knowledge of the entire production process was only part of a broader process of education involving the transmission of economic, administrative and dialogical skills. The last-mentioned point is worth some consideration. The Factory Councils represented the means

whereby the party could be linked to the working class masses (Merrington, 1977 : 159). The Party was conceived of as a 'vanguard' in Lenin's sense of the word. Yet Gramsci insisted that the relationship between both party and masses, as well as between masses and intellectuals, has to be a reciprocal one (Merrington, 1977 : 169). It is a relationship in which "every teacher is always a pupil and every pupil a teacher" (Gramsci, 1971 : 349, 350), a notion which very much anticipates Paulo Freire. Part of this reciprocal relationship is manifest in the way the Turin movement had 'the undeniable merit' of bringing to the attention of the working class' vanguard matters of great importance to the Italian proletariat (Merrington, 1977 : 160).

Although dialogue was a feature of the Turin Factory Council's movement, 'discipline', a central theme in Gramsci's educational writings, was considered to be of paramount importance. It was considered by Gramsci to be indispensable for the working class not only to maintain good production standards but also to be able to develop into a well organized political force. Gramsci believed, however, that industrial discipline was not something that could be provided through traditional means, namely through coercion, the market or fear of unemployment (Clark, 1977 : 6). On the contrary, Gramsci felt that the workers had to

discipline themselves (Clark, 1977 : 6). It can be assumed, therefore, that one of the advantages of a process of participatory adult education would be that of instilling among the workers the much required sense of self-discipline. After all, Gramsci and the Factory Council leadership maintained that only through genuine workers' participation and control can continued industrial production be guaranteed (Clark, 1977 : 7). It was believed by Gramsci that traditional 'militancy' would deny workers genuine control and, therefore, the possibility of disciplining themselves in order to be able to organize production effectively. Clark (1977) refers to "Gramsci's life-long efforts to 'educate' the working class away from 'militancy'..." (p. 6). It appears from the literature that his efforts in this regard were not futile. Self-discipline and productivity did appear to be a hallmark of the Turin workers led by the Factory Councils. As Entwistle (1979) points out, Gramsci derived satisfaction from being able to remark that, throughout the 1920 workers' occupation of the Turin factories, production levels never fell short of the normal mark, despite the fact that the workers had been constantly on guard against a possible external attack (p. 140). Amendola (1978) even states that the factories were eventually returned to their owners in a better condition than they had ever been before. The Council Director, Giovanni Parodi, is on

record as having told Fiat owner, Giovanni Agnelli, during the official handover, "We return the factory. There isn't a single nail missing",[11] a fact immediately acknowledged by Agnelli himself (p. 27). It is obvious that the inculcation of a strong sense of discipline formed part of the kind of adult education activity carried out by the Turin Factory Councils.[12]

The surrender of the factory-workers virtually spelled the end for the revolutionary Council Movement. While the Movement may have served as a source of inspiration for later experiments in the field of 'workers' particpation', the lesson which must have emerged from the Turin experience, as least for those intending to establish a new hegemony, is that no matter how interesting and revolutionary a counter-hegemonic activity may appear to be, it cannot succeed in isolation. The 'Turin experience' was not shared elsewhere throughout the peninsula. The Socialist Party never took part in the activity which was undermined by the trade union movement itself (Amendola, 1978 : 28). It ought to be reiterated, at this stage, that

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11 My translation. The original reads: "Vi restituiamo la fabbrica, non manca un chiodo" (Amendola, 1978 : 17).

12 For a further discussion regarding Gramsci's belief in the educational merits of 'discipline', see pages 65, 67, 68 and 69 of this Chapter. Some of these chapters also include brief discussions on the theme of 'self-discipine'.

Gramsci maintains that a 'war of position' has to be waged 'on all fronts'. It must involve a large part of the superstructure. This new strategy for the Party was conceived and formulated in prison, where Gramsci was left to reflect on the demise of the Factory Council Movement.

It appears, though, that Gramsci had always felt the need to explore the potential for counter-hegemony inherent in other sectors of the ideological superstructure. Culture, 'high' and popular, provided one such imporant sector. Gramsci attached importance to culture in the education of the working class. It was Tasca, one of Gramsci's most influential socialist friends, who had emphasized the importance of 'culture' for the working class in a speech delivered at the Socialist Youth Congress at Bologna in 1912 (Clark, 1977 : 49). Gramsci shared similar views and, writing in 'Il Grido del Popolo', maintained that "Socialism is organization, and not only political and economic organization, but also, especially, organization of knowledge and of will, obtained through cultural activity" (cited in Clark, 1977 : 53). In Gramsci's view, therefore, radical adult education had to consist of workers' preparation not only in the fields of politics and economics but also culture. One of the recurring themes in his journalistic writings is the need for the development of a new kind of culture, one which

would break with the archaic forms of 'academic' Italian culture - in short, a culture with which the proletariat would identify itself.

As indicated in this chapter, one of the characteristics of the kind of education imparted to the workers via the Turin Factory Councils was its close relationship with the world of production. It is perhaps for this reason, more than anything else, that Gramsci was initially attracted to Futurism, the artistic movement which had stamped its mark on the Italian cultural firmament at the time of Gramsci's journalistic writings. It must have appeared to him to be the most appealing form of art, albeit not proletarian, at a time when the working class was not yet capable of fashioning its own "organically revolutionary art" (Forgacs, Nowell Smith, 1985 : 19).

This artistic movement stressed the relationship between industry and man, a theme which runs parallel to that of education and production. In this movement, artistic modernism was equated with industrialism. Moreover, the Futurist Movement may have appealed to Gramsci because it threatened to put an end to 'fin de siècle' bourgeois cultural residues (Forgacs, Nowell Smith, 1985). As a matter of fact, Gramsci writes that the

Movement's cultural reviews were read by members of the working class. He praises the Movement's members for having "grasped sharply and clearly that our age, the age of big industry, of the large proletarian city and of intense and tumultuous life, was in need of new forms of art, philosophy, behaviour and language" (Gramsci, 1985 : 51).

This initial enthusiasm for Futurism (the Futurist ideologue, Filippo Marinetti, had once been invited, by the Turin Factory Council, to explain the Movement's ideals to workers) eventually turned sour on Gramsci. Gramsci acknowledged in a letter to Trotsky that several prominent members of the Movement identified themselves with the Fascist cause: "The most prominent representatives of pre-war Futurism have become fascists..." (Gramsci, 1985 : 52).

However, Gramsci's search for a kind of culture, relevant to the proletariat and characterized by a strong relationship with production, led him to pose questions, in his journalistic writings, regarding the nature of a possible proletarian culture (a proletkult). He sought to identify what sort of culture would serve as a source of education and emancipation for the proletariat. At one stage, Gramsci advocates the creation of a cultural

association for the proletariat. He writes that such an association "must have class aims and limits. It must be a proletarian institution seeking definite goals" (Gramsci, 1985 : 21). He feels that such an association would satisfy the need to integrate political and economic activity with an organ of cultural activity. As a result, "...the proletarian movement will gain in compactness and in energy for conquest" (Gramsci, 1985 : 22). Gramsci must have felt that such an association would have constituted an important source of informal, adult education. He believed that it would have filled a huge gap in Italian society which, in his view, lacked "the spirit of disinterested solidarity, love of free discussion, the desire to discover the truth with uniquely human means, which reason and intelligence provide" (Gramsci, 1985 : 23).

The question which remains, though, is whether this proletarian culture was to emerge as an entirely new form of culture or whether it was to draw on that which already formed part of the fund of civilization. The following citation from Gramsci should provide an indication as to what his answer to the question would have been:

> "Proletarian culture is not something that has sprung up from nowhere, ... Proletarian culture must be the result of the natural development of the stores of knowledge which mankind has accumulated under the yoke of capitalist society, landlord society and bureaucratic society." (cited in Entwistle, 1979 : 44)

Given this view, Gramsci's extensive writings on both 'high' and 'popular' culture become relevant in the context of an ongoing quest for the development of a proletarian culture. These writings mainly consist of reviews published in the socialist newspaper, 'Avanti!'. Among the writings on so-called 'high culture', one discovers insightful reviews of works by Ibsen, Chekhov and, most notably, Luigi Pirandello. The fact that they were aimed at a working class audience attests to a belief on Gramsci's part in the validity of so-called 'high-culture' for the proletariat to educate itself and develop a superior world view. These writings coupled with his advocacy of a traditional classical education, of which he was a product, lead one to believe that, for Gramsci, there must have appeared to be no such thing as a 'bourgeois' culture but rather, a 'high' culture that has been made the bourgeoisie's prerogative. If one were to relate this to Gramsci's theory of hegemony, then one may say that intellectuals who, like Gramsci, have a background in classical studies and are organic to the proletariat, can help wrest this culture from the bourgeoisie's grasp.

It would be preposterous for one to assert that the work of a Shakespeare or a Dostoyevsky, revealing such tremendous insights into the human condition, cannot be of relevance to members of the subaltern classes. Certainly,

such universal themes as exploitation, suffering, reality and illusion, betrayal and the struggles against adversity are among those developed in and conveyed through the world's greatest literature. Such themes are surely of relevance to the plight of the proletariat.[13]

There may exist, however, an important reason why Gramsci sees great potential for the working class in 'high' culture. He may have believed that, like the "philosopher's philosophy", 'high' culture can provide the proletariat with a superior conception of reality. As a matter of fact, Gramsci writes in terms of the "highest sense of a conception that is implicitly manifest in art..." (Cited in Entwistle, 1979 : 32). Forms of 'high' culture may serve to provide a conception of the world which is critical and coherent. Likewise, popular culture may have appeared interesting to Gramsci for the simple reason that, like 'popular philosophy', it contains an admixture of potentially positive qualities and others which distort reality and continue to provide the proletariat with a fragmentary world view. The question to emerge therefore is: to what extent can popular culture be distilled of its distorting elements and, together with the potentially more positive aspects of 'high' culture,

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13 One must acknowledge, however, that there exist themes (eg. the concept of 'Degree' in Shakespeare) which may appear as 'reactionary' to the modern mind.

provide the basis for a new, proletarian culture? The interplay between the 'artistic' and the 'popular' appears to have been of major concern to Gramsci as may be indicated by the interest he expresses in one particular form of popular fiction - the serial novel. Gramsci seems greatly concerned about its deterioration as a literary form. And yet, he devotes attention to Dostoyevsky's novels, a form of 'high' culture, precisely because they draw on the serial fiction, thus revealing the interplay between 'artistic' and 'popular' culture (Forgacs, Nowell Smith, 1985 : 12).

The foregoing may serve to indicate that, for Gramsci, 'high' culture, like 'popular' culture, may contain elements that may contribute to the development of a new proletarian form of culture. Nevertheless, he too would acknowledge that it may not be easily accessible to the members of the working class. These may lack the 'cultural baggage' which, he feels, renders such culture the prerogative of the bourgeoisie. The same applies to language. Gramsci believes that "every current of thought has its particular language and vocabulary" (Gramsci, 1985 : 32).

So do thoughts pertaining to a coherent proletarian conception of life. The proletariat would, in Gramsci's

view, need to acquire the right 'cultural baggage' in order to be able to follow and participate in debates hinging on concepts of the utmost importance within the framework of a proletarian world view. Gramsci felt that "a concept which is difficult in itself cannot be made easy when it is expressed without becoming vulgarized. And pretending that this vulgarization is still the same concept is to act like trivial demagogues, tricksters in logic and propaganda" (Gramsci, 1985 : 32). It must have been felt that such 'vulgarization' would have rendered the proletarian conception of life an 'impoverished' one. With respect to this, Gramsci felt that the articles published in such socialist papers as his own 'Il Grido del Popolo' should always be above the average level so that workers would be provided with a "stimulus to intellectual progress" (Gramsci, 1985 : 33). Part of the kind of informal adult education provided by the socialist newspapers consisted of the publication of intellectually-stimulating articles and debates on issues affecting working class life. Indeed, the review 'Ordine Nuovo' was founded with the intention of serving as a source of adult education, an 'organ of proletarian culture', supplementing the Socialist daily 'Avanti!' in the work of 'cultural penetration' (Clark, 1977 : 53). In the present writer's view, the socialist newspapers' efforts in this respect can only be justified

if complemented by a network of related adult education agencies intended to furnish workers with the right 'cultural baggage'. Perhaps, had the Factory Councils been allowed a longer existence and, therefore, the opportunity to flourish, they would have catered to such needs.

It appears from his writings that Gramsci pins his hopes for the proletariat's acquisition of this 'cultural baggage' on a restructured, 'common school'. One may argue that an exposition of Gramsci's views regarding the school would seem out of place in a discussion on adult education. Nevertheless, it can be shown that his ideas on the school have implications and therefore relevance for a theory of radical adult education. An exposition of these ideas will be provided in this section, following which an attempt will be made to draw out the implications which they have for a coherent theory of adult education developed on Gramscian lines.

4. Gramsci's Theory of the School and its Implications for Adult Education

Contrary to the position taken by the exponents of the new sociology of education (eg. M.F.D. Young, G.M. Esland,

N. Keddie),[14] Gramsci sees much of what constitutes the traditional school curriculum as the vehicle for the creation of a new proletarian hegemony, provided that members of the working class are not denied access to it.

Gramsci adopted this position in reaction to the proposed reforms of Giovanni Gentile, the 'philosopher of fascism' and Minister of Public Instruction in the Mussolini regime. Gentile clearly espoused many of the ideas proposed by the Progressivists. However, Gramsci felt that, through such reforms, the working class would be denied access to the kind of 'disinterested' humanistic

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14 This term is applied in relation to a trend in British sociology of education advocated by a group of sociologists in a book edited by Michael F. D. Young and entitled, Knowledge and Control. The proposed new discipline was intended by these sociologists to replace the traditional sociology of education which they regarded as being positivist in orientation and located within the structural - functionalist paradigm (Entwistle, 1979 : 180). Using an interpretative paradigm deriving from Marxism and Phenomenology, and attaching importance to the curricular implications of the Sociology of Knowledge, these sociologists "do not take for granted existing definitions of educational reality" (Young, 1971 : 2) and consider "'what counts as educational knowledge' as problematic'" (Young, 1971 : 3) and socially determined. They argue, therefore, that the knowledge of one group is as valid as that of the other and that all subcultures are adequate ways of life (Entwistle, 1979 : 181). One should strive towards equality in education by attaching equal esteem to all existing ways of life (Entwistle, 1979 : 181) and the knowledge that ensues from them. The problem of equality in education is considered to be not only one of access but also one of content.

education which, he believed, was meant "to develop in each human being an as yet undifferentiated general culture, the fundamental powers to think and the ability to find one's way in life" (Gramsci, 1971 : 26). He quite despised the proposed idea of a neat division into classical and vocational schools, a somewhat earlier version of the English 'grammar' and 'secondary modern' school, the latter providing what, in reality, amounts to a 'second class' education. Gramsci must have felt that the vocational schools were likely to impart a similar standard of education and that, as a result, the 'cultural baggage' required for the establishment of a hegemony was to remain the prerogative of the dominant classes (Gramsci, 1971 : 26). As a result of this segregation, the working class would have remained in a 'subaltern' position, the destiny and future activity of its offspring "determined in advance" (Gramsci, 1971 : 27). Gramsci felt that this served not merely "to perpetuate social differences but to 'crystallise them into Chinese complexities'" (Entwistle, 1979 : 133).

So the problem, as Gramsci saw it, was not wholly one of content but, on the contrary, one of structure - of accessibility. As such, Gramsci conceives of what he calls the 'common school', "with dormitories, refectories,

specialized libraries, rooms designed for seminar work, etc." (Gramsci, 1971 : 30). Gramsci is obviously aware that middle-class children benefit from the fact that school instruction is complemented by further instruction in the home, as well as by further external stimulae which are the product of a good socio-economic status. It is generally assumed that children from the working class would lack such stimulae. The difference between the two categories of students would, in part, be made by that which Pierre Bourdieu terms 'Cultural Capital.' It must have been Gramsci's belief that a residential school would somehow help mitigate the effects of what has often been termed 'cultural deprivation.' This term is often refuted by exponents of the 'new sociology of education' on the grounds that the culture of working-class children is as valid as any and that what these children are deprived of is none other than the culture of the dominant class which reproduces itself through the school system.

For Gramsci, this did not appear to be the case. As indicated earlier in this chapter, Gramsci believed that the culture of working-class children is valid only in part. It does contain elements of superstition and 'folklore' which are the product of a traditional social environment and which prevent what he calls 'common sense' from developing into 'good sense', a fragmentary

'weltanschauung' into a logically coherent one. Gramsci sees the school as serving to combat superstitions and 'folklore.' Therefore, one of the reasons why he conceives of the common school as a 'residential place' is precisely to shield children from the traditional social environment that produces such distorting elements.

Furthermore, the kind of 'disinterested' humanistic curriculum which Gramsci proposes as an alternative is not seen as the culture of the dominant class which is reproduced through the schools and therefore rendered into 'cultural capital.' On the contrary, it is a curriculum that benefits all classes, including the subaltern one. For instance, an aspect of this education would be learning the standard language, considered by Gramsci to be superior to dialect, not because it is used by the dominant group, but because it helps unite people belonging to the same class but hailing from different regions.

Moreover, Gramsci considers the knowledge contained in his proposed curriculum as being related to the kind of 'philosophers' philosophy', that "higher conception of life" (Gramsci, 1971 : 332), into which 'popular philosophy' has to be converted so that the working class can develop a coherent world view. In Gramsci's view, such knowledge is the systematic world view of specialized

scholars, the authority of whom derives not from social but intellectual criteria (Entwistle, 1979 : 36):

> "Who is to fix the 'rights of knowledge' and the limits of the pursuit of knowledge? It seems necessary to leave the task of searching after new truths and better, more coherent, clearer formulations of the truths themselves to the free initiative of individual specialists, even though they may continually question the very principles that seem most essential."
>
> (Gramsci, 1971 : 37)

The sort of knowledge which finds its place in Gramsci's curriculum seems to be that which has stood the test of time and has become part of the cultural heritage of civilization. It was Gramsci's belief that if the proletariat is to reach a position where it can elaborate and develop existing knowledge, thus adding a new stage to civilization, then it must have full cognizance of the accumulated fund of this civilization up to the present period. Knowledge of this accumulated fund should, in Gramsci's view, be provided through schooling which constitutes the preparatory stage in one's life.

Referring to the traditional school, Gramsci says that pupils learnt Greek and Latin for no immediate practical reasons but "to know at first hand the civilization of Greece and Rome - a civilization that was a necessary pre-condition of our modern civilization: in other words,

they learnt them to be themselves and know themselves consciously" (Gramsci, 1971 : 37).

Apart from providing an awareness of the accumulated fund of civilization, the studying of Latin and Greek did, according to Gramsci, offer children other benefits. It must have provided the key leading to that particular form of culture (the Arts) which offered them great potential for the development of a superior conception of life. Furthermore, learning a dead language like Latin provided children from the subaltern classes with other benefits. Unlike living languages, Latin involved mechanistic learning as a result of which "logical, artistic, psychological experience was gained unawares, without a continual self-consciousness" (Gramsci, 1971 : 39). Through learning such a 'moribund' language, children would be initiated into a process involving recognition and use of the formal rules of logic, a very important component of the sort of 'cultural baggage' which would enable a particular social group to establish its hegemony. Furthermore, bringing a dead corpse to life, the metaphor Gramsci employs to describe the learning of Latin, serves the purpose of inculcating certain habits of diligence, precision, poise (even physical poise) and the ability to concentrate on specific subjects (Gramsci, 1971 : 37). Gramsci had the following to say in this respect: "Would a

scholar at the age of forty be able to sit for sixteen hours on end at his work-table if he had not, as a child, compulsorily, through mechanical coercion, acquired the appropriate psycho-physical habits?" (Gramsci, 1971 : 37).

The foregoing serves to show that the rigour involved in what may be regarded as an almost Jesuitical education helps inculcate disciplinary habits which would eventually stand people from the working class in good stead when the time is ripe for them to organize themselves into an efficient political force. It ought to be reiterated that discipline was a feature of the Turin Factory Council Movement. Furthermore, discipline may have been regarded by Gramsci as of essence for anyone who, like him, desired to transcend his environment.

One of the basic tenets of Gramsci's view of learning, as expressed above, is that schooling ought to be regarded as work, and this may be further indicated by the fact that the habits listed are all strongly associated with productivity.[15] In his treatise 'On Education', Gramsci underlines that "the idea and the fact of work (of

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15 These habits must have been regarded by Gramsci as essential prerequisites for the proletariat to successfully face the challenges posed by a technology revolutionized by 'Taylorisation'. In fact, Gramsci writes in terms of intellectual work being 'Taylorised' (Gramsci, 1971 : 29).

theoretical and practical activity) was the educational principle latent in the primary school" (Gramsci, 1971 : 34).

Embodied in this statement is the notion of action and reflection, of education and production - a recurring theme in Gramsci's educational writings. A strong Marxist theme lies at the heart of an apparently traditional curriculum and 'disinterested' humanistic education.

This consideration immediately leads one to begin to discuss the implications of Gramsci's writings on the school for a theory of radical adult education developed on the lines he advocated. Gramsci appears to be positing that, in a post-revolutionary situation, the link between the school and the sources of proletarian adult education (eg. the Factory Councils) should rest precisely on the education-production nexus. The fact that this concept lies, albeit covertly, at the heart of Gramsci's writings on the 'Common School', confirms that Gramsci intended it to be of central importance to a programme of proletarian adult education. This relationship should, according to Gramsci, pervade the entire educational system. The implication of this for adult education appears to be that, although such educative agencies as the Factory Councils have to keep forging this relationship, the chances of

their being successful in this regard would be greater if their activities would form part of an all-embracing process of Lifelong Education and Work, incorporating the school period. One of the Factory Councils' educative tasks was that of instilling a sense of discipline in order to render the worker capable of organizing production. The implication of Gramsci's writings on the 'Common School' seems to be that the Council's task would be facilitated if the individual is to be instilled with habits of diligence and self-discipline when young.

Gramsci's emphasis on the relationship between production and education cannot but help bring to mind that aspect of Capitalist education which was decried by Bowles and Gintis (1976) on the grounds that it was intended to prepare children from the working class for subservient roles in the production process. In this kind of education, emphasis is also placed on such aspects as discipline, diligence, punctuality etc. The main difference though is that, for Gramsci, these aspects form part of a process of schooling which is both culturally enriching and allows room for 'creativity' during the final years (Gramsci advocates that the Common School should incorporate two phases, the 'Active Phase' and the 'Creative' one). Otherwise, his proposed school would not have been any different from the vocational schools which

he so fervently criticized. One fundamental difference which is of relevance to adult education is that Gramsci advocated discipline, diligence and so forth with a view to rendering individuals from the working class capable of organizing the production process rather than being a mere partial operation in it. During the adult education stage, these qualities were to be developed further in a process of participative education.

The implication to be drawn from Gramsci's writings on the 'Creative School', is that participative education is something to which an individual has to be exposed when young. The 'Creative School' must therefore provide the foundation for an ongoing process of participative education. Gramsci calls this period of schooling the "decisive phase" which was meant to "create the fundamental values of 'humanism', the intellectual self-discipline and the moral independence which are necessary for subsequent specialization." (Gramsci, 1971 :32). And by subsequent specialization, he is referring not only to university studies but also to work "of an immediately practical-productive character" (Gramsci, 1971 : 32). This, it ought to be stressed, is the phase of schooling which immediately precedes the work period. One assumes, therefore, that in Gramsci's view, adult education on the work place would follow on the lines of the 'creative' school, where

'self-discipline' rather than coercion becomes the order of the day. After all, if sources of worker-education are to engender greater participation, then they should operate as a 'creative' school. Only thus could workers become 'subjects' rather than 'objects' and, in so doing, obtain the full benefits of a participatory industrial democracy.

It would be worth reiterating at this stage that it is not only through economic organization that Gramsci intended the working class to develop as an effective political force but also through cultural preparation. Gramsci's belief in the validity of the liberal arts for the education of the working class has been stressed time and again in this Chapter. This belief is further confirmed in his writings on the 'Common School.' Great importance is attached to the humanities in his proposed curriculum. Gramsci must have felt, therefore, that efforts in preparing the working class culturally would prove more fruitful were a humanities education to be made accessible to children from all strata of society.

One feels that in order to partake fully of the cultural experiences provided by their own institutions, workers require a broad 'cultural baggage' which cannot be obtained solely during adulthood. And it is probably for this reason that Gramsci felt that the problem regarding a

humanities education is not so much one of content as one of accessibility.' This is what one may infer from his writings on the School.

Gramsci must have felt that, in gaining access to this 'cultural baggage', the working class would manage to obtain, among other things: (a) knowledge of where one stands in the process of development of civilization (Gramsci, 1971 : 37), (b) knowledge of the formal rules of logic (Gramsci, 1971 : 42) and (c) knowledge of that kind of philosophy' (Gramsci, 1971 : 42) which, Gramsci believed, could help convert one's fragmentary world view into a coherent one. Gramsci intended his 'Common School' to impart such skills.

Perhaps, one of the implications which this has for a theory of radical adult education is that the relevant institutions or circles should give priority, in their programmes, to the teaching of such skills. One would assume, for instance, that History would constitute a very important area of study in an adult education programme developed on Gramscian lines. Gramsci certainly regarded it as one subject that enables people to "be themselves and know themselves consciously" (Gramsci, 1971 : 37). Gramsci is on record as having written in this regard:

> "If it is true that universal history is a chain made up of the efforts man has exerted to free himself from privilege, prejudice and idolatry, then it is hard to understand why the proletariat, which seeks to add another link to that chain, should not know how and why and by whom it was preceded, or what advantage it might derive from this knowledge."
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> (cited in Entwistle, 1979 : 41).

The importance which he attached to History further confirms the view that, for Gramsci, a humanities education is of great relevance to the working class. In his writings on the School, Gramsci states that part of the education provided should consist of teaching the formal rules of logic. He criticized the proposed 'new' curriculum, one of Gentile's 'progressivist' reforms, because it presupposes "that formal logic is something you already possess when you think, but does not explain how it is to be acquired, so that in practice it is assumed to be innate." (Gramsci, 1971 : 42). Given the importance that he attaches to the teaching of this skill, it would not be wrong to assume that he considered it important in a process of adult education. This would appear to be very much in keeping with his belief that the worker should be fully equipped with the skills that would enable him to organize production efficiently. One such skill would be that of being able to articulate experiences or processes logically and coherently.

As has been shown in the discussion on the Intellectuals, the need to develop coherence was considered by Gramsci to be essential for the working class to develop into a strong political force. This is perhaps the main reason why Gramsci places great emphasis on the teaching of "descriptive, definitional philosophy" (Gramsci, 1971 : 41) in the school curriculum. If one relates this to his writings concerning the study of the 'Philosopher's Philosophy', one may say that it has implications for a theory of radical adult education developed on Gramscian lines. It would be useful at this stage to reiterate that Gramsci considered the 'Philosopher's Philosophy' (ie. knowledge whose authority derives not from social but intellectual criteria) as capable of ridding 'popular philosophy' (a peculiar mixture of 'folklore', daily empirical experience and 'science') of its potentially distorting elements, "indeed every residue of traditional conceptions of the world" (Gramsci, 1971 : 34), to enable it to develop into a coherent world view. One assumes, therefore, that Gramsci considered it part and parcel of the workers' cultural preparation that they be exposed to such subjects as "a descriptive philosophy", subjects which would enable them to develop:

> "a more modern outlook based essentially on an awareness of a simple and fundamental fact that there exist objective, intractable natural laws to which man must adapt himself if he is to master them in his turn..." (Gramsci, 1971 : 34).

This is Gramsci's own declaration of one of the aims of his proposed 'Common School.' There is every reason to believe that he also intended it to be one of the aims of his proposed process of adult education. He must have felt that only thus would the proletariat succeed, through the help of organic intellectuals, in converting 'common sense' into 'good sense.' As indicated in the discussion on the Intellectuals, 'good sense' comprises both 'standard' knowledge and what may be described as the positive potential inherent in one's own culture. In his writings on the School, however, Gramsci pays lip service to the development of this positive potential. One feels that, if the individual does not grow accustomed to recognizing the validity of certain aspects of his class culture when young, he may be less inclined to do so during adulthood. A certain degree of prejudice against popular culture may develop which would be difficult to dislodge. It would hinder the accomplishment of such tasks as that of developing a new, common culture, a responsibility which Gramsci must have felt to be incumbent on the organic intellectual in his capacity as adult educator.

One feels that, if the school is to prove formative in this regard, aspects of 'popular culture' and 'standard' knowledge should co-exist in a well balanced school curriculum. Having said this, however, one must

acknowledge that Gramsci's ideas concerning the School are, in many respects, consonant with his ideas on adult education. Schooling and adult education are regarded as being, in a post-revolutionary context, interrelated components of a lifelong process of radical education. The difference between the two components lies in the degree of partisanship involved.

What Gramsci appears to be positing, through his conception of the 'Common School', is that one can really educate a young generation for the establishment of a new political/cultural hegemony without being overtly partisan in one's teaching. One of the basic tenets is that the 'cultural baggage' which the proletariat needs to establish its hegemony is not any different from that required by other groups vying for supremacy. Given this view, one of the tasks of the adult educator, who is organic to the working class, would be that of building on this 'cultural baggage', rendering it useful for the purposes of a political education.

CHAPTER III

AN EXPOSITION AND ANALYSIS OF PAULO FREIRE'S IDEAS RELEVANT TO ADULT EDUCATION

The Brazilian educator, Paul Freire, has exerted a considerable influence in the field of adult education not only in Latin America but worldwide. The reaction to his philosophy of adult education has been varied, ranging from accusations of being "reformist" (eg. La Belle, 1986) and "populist" (eg. Youngman, 1986) to such approving comments as those of Elias and Merriam who state that Freire's "theory is radical in the political sense of utilizing education to bring about social, political and economic changes in society" (Youngman, 1986: 152).

In this Chapter, it will be argued that Freire's pedagogical ideas stand in marked reaction to a process of education characterized by prescription and, therefore, what Raymond Williams (1963) calls a "dominative" mode of communication. In Freire's view, this process serves to consolidate sharply defined power relations and, therefore, perpetuate a situation characterized by the presence of "oppressors" and "oppressed". It shall also be argued that, contained in his pedagogy, are the elements for an alternative model of society, a new social order.

What follows is a brief outline of the various aspects of Freire's work, in adult education, which will be analysed in this chapter. In the first section, attention will be focussed on Freire's analysis of the process of ideological domination as it takes place among the oppressed people, notably in a Third World context. In the second section, an attempt will be made to provide an analytic exposition of the alternative pedagogy which Freire proposes with a view to contributing to what he calls 'Cultural Action for Freedom'. The third section will consist of a discussion on the application of Freire's pedagogy in a post-revolutionary context. This Pedagogy would here be viewed as a form of what Freire calls 'Cultural Revolution'.

Freire's pedagogy will, for the greater part of this Chapter, be discussed with a Third World context in mind. After all, Freire's pedagogical experiences are, for the most part, closely related to this particular context. In the fourth and final section, however, the question regarding a possible wider application of Freire's pedagogical theory will be addressed.

1. Freire's Analysis of the Process of Ideological Domination through Education

It would be inappropriate to commence the discussion on Freire's pedagogy without giving due consideration to his

exposition of the process of ideological domination and the manner in which it is facilitated by traditional, authoritarian teaching methods. In The Pedagogy of the Oppressed, Freire dwells at length on the means whereby the oppressed are 'domesticated' and, as a result, develop false consciousness. According to Freire, part of this false consciousness is manifest in the way the Oppressed internalize the image of their oppressors:

> "Their ideal is to be men; but for them, to be men is to be oppressors. This is their model of humanity" (Freire, 1970: 30).

Giroux builds on this by suggesting that the 'Oppressor consciousness' makes its presence felt in several everyday situations, for example, in the way oppressed men behave in relation to equally oppressed women (Giroux, 1981: 14). In this respect, Henry Giroux (1981) writes of "the violence that underpins the discourse and social relationships that male subcultures display towards the women that share their experiences" (p.16). The same applies to the racist, verbal attacks which members of the Oppressed classes frequently direct towards equally oppressed people. This problem is relevant not only to the industrialized centres of Europe and N. America but also to those Third World countries where tribal differences exist, differences which could possibly have been exacerbated by the Colonial Powers as part of a strategy of 'divide and rule'. Violent racist

and sexist modes of discourse are examples of the kinds of behaviour that suggests the presence of the 'Oppressor's image' inside the Oppressed. By indulging in such discourse, the Oppressed would be striving towards their particular 'ideal' of man, an 'ideal' which makes them desire to emulate their oppressors. Freire maintains that such a distorted image of the "new man" prevents those who project it, namely the Oppressed, from gaining "consciousness of themselves as persons or as members of an oppressed class" (Freire, 1973: 30).

Freire goes so far as to maintain that, under such conditions, even freedom becomes a fearful thing for the Oppressed. The oppressed are so 'domesticated' that any activity which entails creativity presents itself to them as a fearful journey into the unknown. For, according to Freire, creativity involves risk-taking (Freire, Macedo, 1987: 57), something in which the Oppressed are not encouraged to indulge. As such, these people remain passive, immersed in what Freire terms the 'culture of silence'. They cannot question things or engage in creative and critical thinking. They are conditioned to obey: "One of the basic elements of the relationship between oppressor and oppressed is prescription" (Freire, 1973: 31). According to Freire, it is through prescription

that the consciousness of the Oppressed is transformed into one which conforms with the prescriber's consciousness. Prescription would therefore be considered by Freire as an important feature of the existent hegemony.

Traditional methods of education, whereby the teacher becomes the automatic dispenser of knowledge and the pupil its passive recipient, would therefore play into the hands of the Oppressors, thus serving to consolidate their hegemony. Freire calls this the 'Banking Concept' of Education:

> "Education thus becomes an act of deposition, in which the students are the depositors and the teacher is the depositor. Instead of communicating, the teacher issues communiques and makes deposits which the students patiently receive, memorize and repeat. This is the "banking" concept of education in which the scope of action allowed to students extends only as far as receiving, filing and storing the deposits" (Freire, 1970: 58).

Freire maintains that, in this situation, the teacher is the subject of the learning process while the pupils or students are mere objects. This process of education is characterized by a 'top-bottom' approach and the pedagogy applied is considered by Freire to be that of "the answer" (Bruss, Macedo, 1985 : 8). It is a pedagogy which, according to Freire, serves to smother any creative impulses that may exist in the individual. As a result, the good educatee is "he who repeats, who refuses to think

critically, who adapts to models, who finds it nice to be a rhinoceros" (Freire, 1972: 179). In short, the model is a prescriptive one.

In Freire's view, 'banking' education reduces any sense of relationship that the educatee may have with the material to be learnt. As such, the Brazilian educator appears to be conveying the idea of education for alienation. The educatee is alienated from the content of his education in the same way as the exploited worker is, in the Marxian sense, "estranged" from the product of his labour.

This 'estrangement' is believed to be necessary from a 'hegemonistic' point of view. It facilitates the ideological domination of the ruling class over the 'subaltern' classes. In this respect, it renders the individual receptive to the 'culture' and 'ideas' of the ruling establishment. This immediately recalls Karl Marx's dictum, expressed in The German Ideology, that "the dominant ideas of a particular epoch are the ideas of the ruling class, which is therefore both the material force of society, in that it owns and controls the means of production and, at the same time, its ruling intellectual force" (cited in Tucker, 1978: 172).

In a Colonial situation, 'cultural invasion' involves a process whereby ideas are disseminated from 'without', that is from the centre of Colonial power. It is a process which leads the African to see himself as a "Black European", to adopt the term used by Nyerere (Okoh, 1980: 55). Again, ideas are imposed on the individual.

It appears that Freire sees the traditional system of 'Banking' education as serving to facilitate the process of 'cultural invasion'. And one may add that such 'cultural invasion' continues to render the content of education alien to the educatees. As such, they are deprived of the consciousness necessary for them to live "with" rather than "in" the world (Freire, 1975: 28). Elsewhere, Freire states that such an education enables people only to "adapt" to their reality rather than achieve "integration" with their context (Freire, 1973: 4). The implication of this seems to be that, by merely being allowed to "adapt", people would lack the necessary capacity to become agents of social change. Rather than becoming subjects, they would remain objects, presenting no threat to the existing order. Given Freire's views, a 'top-to-bottom' approach to education would operate in the interests of this order and, using his terminology, one may say that the education provided would serve to 'domesticate' rather than 'liberate' (Freire, 1972) the individual.

2. The Alternative: Cultural Action for Freedom

In most Latin American countries, counter-hegemonic activity in education takes place outside the formal system. This is quite understandable since, in several Latin American countries, a very small percentage of the relevant age group receives formal education. The same applied to several African countries during the period in which they were colonized.[1] This, together with the fact that it is difficult to carry out counter-hegemonic schooling under conditions of extreme repression,[2] has

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1 Arnove (1986), for instance, states that, in Nicaragua, only sixty five per cent of the relevant age group attended primary school during the final years before the Sandinista -led revolution in 1979 (p. 3). In 'Education for Self-Reliance', Julius K. Nyerere writes about lack of schooling in Tanganyka, now part of Tanzania, prior to Independence in 1961.

2 It has recently been brought to the present writer's notice that some forms of 'resistance' constitute a feature of schooling in Latin American countries. In countries like Chile, for instance, underpaid teachers often show their disapproval of both the system and the ideology it seeks to promote. Some of these teachers have strong political allegiances, sometimes with parties or movements that are violently opposed to the dominant ideology. Hence, the 'reproduction' of the ideological and social process can, by no stretch of the imagination, be considered a smooth one, given the political persuasion and marginal social position of those engaged in the 'mediating' process (ie. the teachers). The situation appears to be even more complex if one takes into consideration the fact that some private schools in Latin America are run by priests who belong to the somewhat radical 'liberation' wing of the Church, very much that section of the clergy which, according to Freire (1985), constitutes "the prophetic church" (p. 187).

I gathered this information from conversations with Chilean students and I take it on trust.

rendered the area of non-formal education as the ideal source for a process of 'education for liberation'. Since this is or was the situation obtaining in those countries about which Freire is directly concerned in his writings, it is only natural that he should regard the alternative to 'education for domestication' as lying in the area of non-formal education. Freire refers to the kind of non-formal education he proposes as 'Cultural Action', the vehicle whereby the oppressed are made aware of the social contradictions which place them in a position of subjugation. "Cultural Action is developed in opposition to the elite that controls the power" (Torres, 1982: 83).[3] Such 'Cultural Action' therefore constitutes the means by which the oppressed can acquire consciousness of themselves as a political force.

Needless to say, this process of cultural action is political in nature. In contrast to some of those who posit a theory of reproduction (cf. Introduction, pp. 10-12) and Marxists who favour an evolutionary economic - determinist view of social change, Freire provides us with a pedagogy which suggests that the hegemonic process can be resisted and, perhaps, broken. Things can be changed. Moreover, it is intended to render its beneficiaries the

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3 Torres (1982) is here reproducing a quote by Freire extracted from the latter's Cultural Action: A Dialectical Analysis (Mexico, CIDOC, Notebook 1004, 1970) p. 51

agents of change. It is a pedagogy which places the emphasis on voluntarism rather than determinism. This is perhaps one reason why Freire repudiates the reproductive theories propounded by some of the neo-Marxists.

> "I believe that many people under the Marxist banner subscribe to purely mechanistic explanations by depending on a fatalism that I sometimes, humorously, call liberating fatalism. This is a liberation given over to history. Hence it is not necessary to make any effort to bring about liberation. It will come no matter what" (Freire, 1985: 179).

What Freire appears to be concerned with here is not just 'resistance' which, in most cases, consists of nothing more than mere'resentment', but transformative action. He must therefore have shared Marx's conviction, expressed in both the 'Third Thesis on Feuerbach'and The German Ideology, that "Circumstances make men just as much as men make circumstances" (cited in Tucker, 1978: 165). Freire is concerned with the notion of praxis, that is to say, conscious practical activity. It is a process which entails transformative action and reflection:

> "But men's activity consists of action and reflection: it is praxis, it is transformation of the world" (Freire, 1973: 119).

According to the notion of 'Praxis', the individual acts upon his material surroundings and reflects upon them. In Freire's view, any separation of the two (i.e.

theorizing. It is perhaps for this reason that Freire, in keeping with the Marxist tradition, regards the individual's material surroundings as the source of his knowledge. His process of 'Cultural Action' is concerned with knowledge born out of the individual's material existence. The foregoing considerations lead Freire to conclude, in the words of Youngman (1986), "that education must help people in the process of objectifying the world, critically understanding it, and acting to change it" (p. 171).

The much celebrated 'Metodo Paulo Freire' seeks to incorporate the foregoing ideals. It involves a process of conscientization ('conscientizacao') through the teaching of literacy. The term 'conscientizacao' is strongly associated with Paulo Freire. Nevertheless, the Brazilian educator is on record as saying that he should not be credited with the term (Zachariah, 1986: 36). Zachariah (1986) states that the term had been employed by Brazilian Catholic radicals in the sixties (p. 28), and that Freire singles out Bishop Helder Camara as the individual who rendered it popular, enabling its use to become widespread in English (p. 36). Zachariah quotes Freire as having said, with regard to the term 'conscientizacao':

"As soon as I heard it, I realized the profundity of

Freire (1970) defines 'conscientizacao' as the process of "learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality" (cf. Footnote, p. 19).

What follows is a brief outline of Freire's method - the process of conscientization through literacy. This process is undergone by members of a 'Cultural Circle' who should be approximately twenty five in number. A team of educational researchers visit the locality to which the group members belong, accompanied by volunteers from the area. It is to investigate the "present, existential, concrete situation" (Youngman, 1987: 156) of the members with a view to discovering their "thematic universe".

The team must also investigate the main issues in the people's social situation, such as domination, underdevelopment and so forth (Youngman, 1986: 156). This research is carried out "during informal encounters with the inhabitants of the area" (Freire, 1973: 49). It includes linguistic research carried out with a view to eliciting typical expressions and words closely related to the group members' existential situation. The words should, according to Freire, include those "weighted" with "the greatest emotional content" (Freire, 1973: 49).

normally "reveal longings, frustrations, disbeliefs, hopes, and an impetus to participate" (Freire, 1973: 49). He also goes on to say that, at this stage, the educators would normally be struck by the beauty of the people's speech.[4]

In the second phase, the educators would select those themes that would generate critical debate and language development. 'Generative words' are therefore chosen from the vocabulary which the investigators record. This choice of 'generative words' should, according to Freire, be governed by such criteria as phonemic richness, phonetic difficulty and pragmatic tone.[5] Not all themes have to be

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4 The basic tenet here is that the cultural aspects and ideas (at times, unsystematic) of the people will be taken from them and given back to them. This tenet immediately recalls Mao's statement: "In all practical work of our Party, all correct leadership is necessarily 'from the masses, to the masses'" (cited in Corrigan et al, 1979 : 24). In the same statement Mao goes on to say that one should take the "scattered " and "unsystematic" ideas of the masses and, through "study", render them both "concentrated" and "systematic" until they are embraced by the masses "as their own". The masses are, in turn, to translate them into action and, in so doing, test their validity. This is conceived of by Mao as an ongoing process through which the ideas are, each time, rendered richer, more correct and more vital (cited in Corrigan et al, 1979 : 24).

It will be shown, however, that, in Freire's case, the people themselves will systematize and revitalize these ideas.

5 (a) Phonetic difficulty - the words selected should, according to Freire, correspond to the phonetic difficulties of the language, "placed in a sequence moving gradually from words of less to those of greater difficulty" (Freire, 1973: 51).

(b) Pragmatic tone - this implies a wider use of a word in a given social, cultural and political context.

derived from the locality in question. In fact, Freire states that the investigators can include relevant themes not suggested by the people (Youngman, 1987: 157). Freire considers as indispensable the theme of the anthropological concept of culture. He believes that this would help people perceive "the difference between nature and human culture and thus realize their role in creating society" (Youngman, 1986: 157).

Arguably the most challenging task occurs in the Third Phase. This is where the 'Codifications' take place. They include visual representations of typical existential situations experienced by the members of the Circle. Each representation is made to appear as a "coded situation - problems containing elements to be decoded by the groups with the collaboration of the coordinator" (Freire, 1973: 51). It is believed by Freire that, by virtue of these codifications, the Circle members would gain greater critical awareness, while learning to read and write.

In Phase Four, agendas are created to serve as guidelines for those who would act as facilitators in the learning process. In the fifth and final phase, audio-visual material is prepared. This includes the creation of cards illustrating the phonemic families corresponding to the generative words.

The preparations over, the actual activity can commence. The Circle members are presented with their own thematics in a codified form. As such, their reality is objectified by virtue of the codifications. The Circle members are thus allowed to detach themselves from their social surroundings to be able to reflect upon them. This is in keeping with Freire's own theory of knowledge which begins with the idea that people differ from animals precisely because they are "able to detach themselves from their natural and social environment, reflect upon it and themselves, and then act to change it" (Youngman, 1986: 171). The processes of codification and decodification are thus related to the notion of "knowledge through praxis". When discussing the thematics, the Circle members would be in a position to gain new levels of awareness of their own situation. They would be 'decoding' their 'objectified' reality. The focus of their reflection is their world of action and it is expected that, following a number of similar sessions, they would be in a position to contribute towards its transformation.

Underlying the whole process of 'knowledge through praxis' is the important Marxian tenet that consciousness derives from the individual's material existence. As indicated above, the subject matter derives from the learner's existential situation. As such, cultural

alienation should, in theory at least, not constitute a feature of the 'Paulo Freire Method'.

In this respect, Freire goes so far as to stress that the learner's reading material should itself be the product of his cultural surroundings. While denouncing the traditional primers as being culturally alien and as promoting the "ideology of accommodation" (Freire, 1985: 9)[6], he advocates the creation of meaningful texts out of the learners' recorded conversations, texts which would enable them not only to "speak the word" but "speak the world".

Given the strong relationship between knowledge and the learner's existential situation, in Freire's method, one must assume that the learner has a repository to draw on. What lies in this repository is nothing other than his own life experience. As such, he is encouraged to draw on this experience in order to arrive at new knowledge, new awareness. By drawing on this experience, he is able to relate to the codified material. The facilitator enables him to do this not by 'depositing' knowledge but by

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6 Freire's detestation of existing primers arises from the fact that they bear no relation to the peasant's reality. They are full of inane phrases as "The wing is of the bird" or "Did Ada given her finger to Urubu?" etc. He goes on to state that primers are "illustrated with cute little houses, heart-warming, and well decorated, with smiling couples, fair of face....." (Freire, 1985 : 9). This he regards as the 'ideology of accommodation'.

engaging the learner's critical faculties. Rather than dispensing knowledge, the facilitator tries to elicit responses that would lead the learner on to solving the problem situation. In this problem-solving education, the pedagogy applied is not that of "the answer" but, on the contrary, that of "the question". One may state that this pedagogy is counter-hegemonic in the sense that it stands in direct contrast to the 'prescriptive' model of education which, as has already been indicated, suits the hegemonic interests of the ruling class. According to the 'prescriptive' or 'banking' model of education, the learner has no problem to solve. The 'solution' is prescribed by the educator.

In Freire's Circles, the learner is helped by his fellow learners in his task of solving a problem situation related to his own experience. As a matter of fact, the Freire Method entails a group approach to learning, one whereby the critical faculties of all the Circle members are engaged.[7] Through a cross-fertilization of ideas, the codified reality is slowly but surely unveiled. The

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7 One wonders whether Freire is here subscribing to Mannheim's view that thought is "group thought" in that it originates in group action. Mannheim asserts: "..... knowledge is from the very beginning a cooperative effort of group life, in which everyone unfolds his knowledge within the framework of a common fate, a common activity and the overcoming of common difficulties" (cited in Coser, 1977: 429).

facilitator himself engages in this sharing of ideas. So the kind of education that Freire is proposing is a dialogical one. Open, uninterrupted and free dialogue is to become the source of valid knowledge - an idea one associates with Jurgen Habermas (Abercrombie et al, 1984). Freire's advocacy of a dialogical approach appears to be based on the conviction that every learner has a lot to offer in that his own experience provides the basis for the entire learning process. This is why the educative process is conceived of by Freire as a two way relationship, almost on Socratic lines.

> "Through dialogue, the teacher of the students and the students-of-the teacher cease to exist and a new term emerges: teacher-student with student-teachers. The teacher is no longer the one who teaches, but one who is himself taught in dialogue with the students, who in turn while being taught also teach" (Freire, 1970: 67)

Elsewhere, Freire elaborates on this aspect of the educator-educatee relationship. He states that, since "conscientizing education - for liberation" is not an "act of transferring knowledge" but "an act of knowing", it is important that:

> "educators and learners all become learners assuming the same attitude as cognitive subjects discovering knowledge through one another and through the objects they try to know. It is not a situation where one knows and the others do not; it is rather the search, by all, at the same time to discover something by the act of knowing which cannot exhaust all the possibilities in the relation between object and subject." (Freire, 1976: 115)

Freire considers both educators and educatees as subjects. The learner's reality constitutes the subject matter which, therefore, becomes a mediator between the two subjects in question, i.e. educator and educatee. In A Pedagogy for Liberation, Freire makes an even bolder assertion regarding the educator-educatee relationship. He states that the dialogical process of education represents "the sealing together of the teacher and the students in the joint act of knowing and re-knowing the object" (Shor, Freire, 1987: 100). As Ira Shor maintains, in the kind of dialogical education proposed by Freire, anything that the educator already knows is relearned when studied again with the educatees - a point confirmed by Freire in the same conversation (Shor, Freire, 1987: 100).

So the educator is, in Freire's view, a learner. This is not to say, however, that he is at par with the educatee. As Freire underlines, "At the moment the teacher begins the dialogue, he or she knows a great deal, first in terms of knowledge and second in terms of the horizon that he or she wants to get to. The starting point is what the teacher knows about the object and where the teacher wants to go with it" (Shor, Freire, 1987: 103). The inference that one may draw from this is that, despite being a learner, the educator leads and controls. He knows where the "horizon" lies, what the entire process must lead to.

The pedagogy involved is, thus, 'directive', in the sense that it is directed towards a particular goal. And Freire leaves us in no doubt that this goal is a political one. It is part and parcel of the "political project"[8] which the educator has in mind:

> "Dialogue does not exist in a political vacuum. It is not a 'free space' where you may do what you want. Dialogue takes place inside some program and content. These conditioning factors create tension in achieving goals that we set for dialogic education. To achieve the goals of transformation, dialogue implies responsibility, directiveness, determination, discipline, objectives" (Shor, Freire, 1987 : 102).

The teacher therefore exerts his control in order to create a healthy dialogue. Freire speaks of a permanent tension between authority and liberty (Shor, Freire, 1987: 102). This leads to self-discipline, as a result of which one learns not to "to misuse his or her participation in the development of the common exercise" (Shor, Freire, 1987: 102).

According to Shor, misuse of the dialogical process leads to a "false democracy". For the ultimate goal of Freire's method of a dialogical education is a participatory democracy. Non-formal education of the kind that Freire advocates is intended to render adults active

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8 Freire considers Education to be a political act. In his view, there is no such thing as a neutral education. "Educators must ask themselves for whom and on whose behalf they are working" (Freire, 1985: 180).

participants in the democratic process throughout all stages of their life. This is the obvious goal of a 'liberating' educational process intended to counter that which serves to consolidate what Freire regards as the existing order of things, one characterized by prescription and authoritarianism at all levels - a hegemony which immerses the majority of people in the 'Culture of Silence'.

In adopting a democratic, dialogical approach, the Circle serves as a microcosm for the kind of society this counter-hegemonic educational activity is intended to lead to. It should thus be a model for a new social order. One may also state that, through Freire's Method, knowledge itself is democratized and does not remain the prerogative of just a few individuals. Furthermore, the kind of knowledge disseminated is in itself 'democratic' in that it directly relates to the kind of life experienced by the majority of the people (i.e. the subaltern classes) and serves their interests.

The foregoing is all part and parcel of what Freire calls 'Cultural Action for Freedom'. It is the kind of counter-hegemonic activity which is intended to precede and pave the way for the revolution. The question to be asked at this stage is: to what extent can this process of

education truly serve as a means of liberation? Can this form of adult education engender social and political change? Naturally, in countries governed by repressive, authoritarian regimes, such as Guatemala, El Salvador and Chile, counter-hegemonic activity would be considered anathema. In such countries, the repressive state apparatus would be called into operation to trample it underfoot. Freire himself knows this only too well. His activities in the field of literacy in Northern Brazil were brought to an abrupt end in 1964 when the military staged a coup to overthrow the 'populist' administration of Joao Goulart. Freire was imprisoned and later "invited" to leave Brazil and live in exile. Indeed, in many parts of strife-torn El Salvador, teaching is considered to be a subversive activity, punishable by death. One may therefore argue that there are limits to the effectiveness of Freire's methods as an instrument of political change. However, certain accounts of the Nicaraguan experience prior to 1979 (Arnove, 1986: 7-9) may serve to rebutt such criticism. It has been stressed that Freire exerted a considerable influence on the sort of radical, counter-hegemonic pedagogical activities carried out in Nicaragua in the late sixties and early seventies (Arnove, 1986: 8). It appears from the literature that these activities contributed, in some measure, to the eventual overthrow of the Somoza Dictatorship. In this case,

however, Freirean pedagogy was not carried out in isolation but in relation to a strong social movement which sought to draw together three strands: "Sandino's popular national revolt, Marxist class analysis and Christian Liberation Theology" (Arnove, 1986: 9).

The inference that one may draw from the Nicaraguan example is that Adult Education, or simply education, on its own, does not lead to social transformation. It can prove effective in this regard only when it is related to some social and political movement capable of effecting a rupture in the social and political structures.

Freire warns us that one should not "expect" from education what it cannot do, namely "transform society by itself" (Shor, Freire, 1987: 37). It is for this reason that Freire advocates that teachers should "expose themselves to the greater dynamism, the greater mobility you find inside social movements..." (Shor, Freire, 1987: 39). Freire insists that "a radical and critical education has to focus on what is taking place today in various social movements and labor unions" (Macedo, Freire, 1987: 61). In the same passage, Freire refers to feminist movements, peace movements and other such movements as generating in their practices "a pedagogy of resistance"

(Macedo, Freire, 1987: 6). He makes this same point in a passage from his published conversation with Ira Shor:

> "But there is another place for the existence and the development of liberating education which is precisely in the intimacy of social movements. For example, the women's liberation movement, the housewives' movement against the cost of living, all these grassroots movements will have emerged into a very strong political task by the end of this century. In the intimacy of these movements we have aspects of liberating education, sometimes we don't perceive." (Shor, Freire, 1987: 88)

There is therefore enough evidence in Freire's work, particularly in his 1987 publications in the English language, to support the view that he regarded 'Cultural Action for Freedom' as being more effective when carried out within the context of a social movement or movements. In Latin America, there exists a strong social movement, one which is governed by Christian and Marxist principles and which embraces a Theology of Liberation. Freire's pedagogy easily lends itself to this sort of movement. Much has been written on the close relationship between Freire's early educational philosophy and the kind of Catholic thinking inspired by Vatican Council II and which is reflected through the 1968 Document on Education produced by the Latin American bishops in Medellin, Columbia (Torres, 1982).

According to this kind of Catholic thinking, the Church was to promote a "process of reflection about faith as a liberating praxis" (La Belle, 1987: 7). According to this view:

> "in this world of oppressors and oppressed, the reconciling mission of the church is to stand with our Lord on the side of the Oppressed and to travel with him in this hard, long and narrow road leading to liberation" (Hartung, Ohliger, 1972: 21).[9]

This passage clearly reveals the strong relationship between Freire's ideas and Liberation Theology. Some of the lines could easily have been 'lifted' from Freire's writings. It is this relationship, more than anything else, which has led the Church to espouse many of Freire's pedagogical principles.

Jesuits from the University of Central America (U.C.A.) used Freire's pedagogy when engaging in the kind of consciousness-raising activities that preceded the Somoza overthrow in Nicaragua (Arnove, 1986; Carnoy, Torres, 1987). Many of these Jesuits, no doubt, belonged to the 'Liberation' wing of the Church. Nevertheless, their involvement must have served to render 'Cultural Action for Freedom' less of an 'outlawed' activity in that it appeared to be carried out under the Church's 'umbrella'. It

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9 These lines have been reproduced by Hartung and Ohliger (1972) from the article, 'Symposium: Religious Education in Latin America' published in Religious Education, Vol. LXVI, Nov.-Dec. 1971, No. 6.

appears, therefore, that in 'Catholic' Latin America, the Church can exert a protective influence over pedagogical activities carried out under the banner of 'Cultural Action for Freedom'. One may regard this is an advantage to be reaped by radical adult educators working within the context of a strong social movement. 'Cultural Action for Freedom' may therefore prove effective under such circumstances.

Nevertheless, it may still be argued that, irrespective of whether it does or does not take place within a social movement, cultural action does not directly lead to political action destined to bring about political change. In the case of Guinea Bissau and Nicaragua, military action on the part of the guerrilla movement brought about the desired change. Such considerations should not obscure the possibility, however, that non-formal education of the kind advocated by Freire could serve as a form of cultural preparation for a new social order.

It may take a guerrilla movement, acting in the people's interest, to fight for and eventually bring about the desired political change. However, it has often been felt that the people need to be prepared beforehand in order to be able to accept and partake fully of the cultural change which would be expected to take place

following the country's political transformation. Freire's proposed process of 'Cultural Action for Freedom' may prove effective in this regard.

Needless to say, there would be ample room for this kind of education to take place in a post-revolutionary context. As a matter of fact, there are many who would argue that Freire's pedagogy works best in this kind of situation, where the political climate would be a congenial one. Freire states that, when applied in a post-revolutionary or post-independence context, his pedagogy becomes a form of 'Cultural Revolution'. As Torres (1982) remarks:

> "in contrast (i.e. to cultural action), the cultural revolution occurs in complete harmony with the revolutionary regime in spite of the fact that the cultural revolution should not be subordinate to the revolutionary power" (p. 88).

3. Cultural Revolution

Once the desired political change takes place (egs. Guinea Bissau, Sao Tome, Principe, Nicaragua), therefore, Freire's method of conscientization through literacy can become a vehicle for the consolidation of a new political and social order.

It is possible that Freire's method would be applied by the revolutionary group in relation to a literacy crusade,

of the kind carried out in Cuba, Nicaragua and Tanzania. The ability to read and write would be deemed essential by the new governing group for the vast majority of the population to be able to partake of the revolutionary experience. Freire's method of non-formal education would appear to cater to such needs. And it is most likely that such governments would pin their hopes for the achievement of widespread literacy on non-formal rather than formal education. For, as had been stated in Tanzania's first Five Year Development Plan,

> "the nation cannot wait until the children have become educated for development to begin" (Unsicker, 1986 : 231).

Furthermore, economic constraints may prevent impoverished countries like Tanzania, for instance, from providing adequate schooling facilities. Non-formal education would, therefore, appear to be a cheaper alternative. A war situation such as that occurring in Nicaragua (the Contra War) would render schools dangerous places to be in and non-formal education would therefore allow for greater flexibility in the use of premises.

Freire has been linked with practically all of the post-independence or post-revolutionary experiences referred to above, although his involvement with the

Tanzanian Literacy Campaign has been described as "peripheral" (Torres, 1982: 87). One of the reasons why these countries appear willing to adopt the 'Freire Method' is that, in the process of conscientization through literacy, emphasis is supposedly placed on participation and the ability to perceive social contradictions. Most of the countries in question sought to create a "new society" characterized by popular participation. For instance, Nyerere's theory of 'Ujamaa Vijijni' was intended to have popular participation as its core. The Sandinistas in post-'79 Nicaragua sought to generate, via the mass organizations, popular involvement in both urban and rural areas (Arnove, 1986).

It is also relevant to remark that independence or the revolution by itself does not change popular attitudes and misconceptions. Years of domination, characterized by 'prescription', naturally leave their imprint on the minds of the oppressed. As such, one of the major tasks facing a post-revolutionary or post-colonial government is to eradicate what may be regarded as the most important legacy of the previous hegemony, namely ideological domination. After all, some of the people in former colonies may still harbour 'a colonial mentality'. In this respect, Freire quotes Cape Verde's President, Aristides Pereira, as having said:

> "We made our liberation and we drove out the colonizers. Now we need to decolonize our minds" (Freire, 1985: 187).

Freire goes on to state that, unless the mind is decolonized, the people's thinking would be in conflict with the new context which would be evolving as a result of the struggle for freedom. As such, counter-hegemonic activities carried out with a view to decolonizing the minds should serve as a means whereby previously suppressed native cultures can emerge. Freire's methods should be aimed at the re-establishment of such a native culture, for only thus can the knowledge or consciousness involved be truly related to the learner's material existence. This immediately leads one into a discussion on the role of language. Freire points out that not all that pertains to the colonial experience is irrelevant. He refers to knowledge of the colonizer's language (e.g. Portuguese) as capable of proving beneficial in a post-colonial situation. This statement makes sense particularly in relation to situations where the language of the colonizer is of international importance (e.g. the English language) and, thus, knowledge of this language would enable the 'new', decolonized nation to pay its way in the international market. It becomes an economic asset. Furthermore, it may have to serve as 'lingua franca' in countries where different native languages are used by

different tribes. However, if praxis is to serve as the cornerstone for the establishment of the new 'hegemony', then emphasis ought to be placed on the native culture, a very important feature of which would be the native language. As Freire (1985) maintains, when referring to Guinea Bissau's revolutionary leader, Amilcar Cabral, "Language is one of culture's most immediate, authentic and concrete expressions" (p. 184). It would be opportune to recall, here, that, according to Marx, "language is practical consciousness" (cited in Tucker, 1978 : 58). He regards it as a social product which is as old as consciousness itself.

Freire therefore stresses the importance of the learning material being expressed in the native language. Reflecting on the literacy experiences in Guinea Bissau, Freire insists that "the so-called failure" of his work in this African country "was not due to the 'Freire Method'", but because Portuguese was used "as the only vehicle of instruction" throughout the campaign (Freire, Macedo, 1987: 114). This must have made him even more convinced that the use of a national or a more congenial language (eg. Creole) should constitute a feature of both the formal and non-formal system of education. Freire advocates the use of Creole in Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Sao Tome and Principe. He says:

> "These countries need to creolize in phases, starting with the first years of primary school through the high school, so that people everywhere would feel free to express themselves in their native language without fear and without perceiving any elitist restriction. Indeed they will come to terms with themselves to the degree that they speak their own language, not the colonizer's language" (Freire, 1985 : 183).

In a post-colonial situation, the native language becomes a hallmark of the new order. It constitutes one of the distinctive features of the newly acquired national identity. It also furnishes the country's people with a new structure of thinking:

> "Language is not only an instrument of communication, but also a structure of thinking for the national being" (Freire, 1985: 4).

It is for this very reason that Freire shudders at the prospect of his children having to study the history of Brazil in, say, English:

> "You can see what a violation of the structure of thinking this would be: a foreign subject (such as English) imposed upon the learner for studying another subject" (Freire, 1985 : 184).

Freire makes this statement with reference to the fact that Cape Verdeans adopt Portuguese as the official language for technical, scientific and political thinking (Freire, 1985). Many other former colonies adopt the language of the Colonizer for such purposes. Perhaps Freire may have been worried by the possibility that

emphasis on such a language would render it a form of 'Cultural Capital', to adopt Pierre Bourdieu's term. As a result, it would be regarded as one of the vehicles whereby the educational system would reproduce the kind of class differences associated with the previous order. Freire makes statements to this effect with reference to post-independence education in Guinea Bissau. He writes:

> "In my letter to Mario Cabral[10] I said that the exclusive use of Portuguese in education would result in a strange experience characterized by Portuguese as a superstructure that would trigger an exacerbation of class divisions, and this in a society that was supposed to be re-creating itself by breaking down social classes" (Freire, Macedo, 1987 : 110, 111).

In the same letter, Freire touches on the issue of cultural reproduction in Guinea Bissau. He states that, because Portuguese is used as the "mediating force" in the education of youngsters and because students are selected for further education on the basis of their knowledge of the colonizer's language, "only the children of the elite would be able to advance educationally, thus reproducing an elite dominant class" (Freire, Macedo, 1987: 111).

One may feel inclined to think that an educational process characterized by excessive use of a foreign language would stand in stark contrast to the one advocated by Freire, namely an educational process closely connected

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10 Mario Cabral was Guinea Bissau's Minister of Education when Freire wrote this letter.

with the material needs and surroundings of the learner - in short, education through praxis.

In the context of a Cultural Revolution, a process of knowledge acquisition through praxis would, according to Freire, entail a strong relationship between education and production. This is one of the notable developments of his theory as propounded in his 1978 publication, Pedagogy in Process - The Letters to Guinea Bissau (Youngman, 1986: 158). Here, Freire is greatly concerned with the social relations of production. While re-emphasizing that the organization of the programmatic content of education is "an eminently political act" (Freire, 1978: 102), Freire writes extensively in Letter 11 on the unmistakably Marxian tenet that there should be no dichotomy between productive labour and education. In this respect, Freire advocates the avoidance of full time students and the combination of study time with working hours "in intimate relationship with peasants" (Torres, 1982: 88). According to Freire (1983), educational institutions should not be "distinguished, essentially, from the factory or from the productive activity in the agricultural field" (p. 105) - a notion very reminiscent of Julius K. Nyerere (cf. 'Education for Self-Reliance') and Mao Tse-Tung. One assumes that the same applies to the Adult Education Circles of the type which Freire helped set up in Guinea

Bissau - circles, the activities of which stood in harmony with the PAIGC, the Country's revolutionary regime.

Freire is very explicit on the relationship between education and productive labour:

> "In this sense, the new man and the new woman toward which this society aspires cannot be created except by participation in productive labour that serves the common good. It is this labor that is the source of knowledge about this new creation, through which it unfolds and to which it refers" (Freire, 1978: 105).

As such, Freire states that, in such a situation, the unit themes to be applied in the course of his programme of non-formal education should be derived from these people's world of action or, more precisely the area of their productive labour. He provides examples of themes centering around the word 'rice', namely production of rice, geography of rice, history of rice, health and rice (Freire, 1978: 117).

One may assume that a process of adult education interrelated with production was also intended by Freire to produce the sort of organic intellectual who would serve to consolidate the newly established 'socialist' hegemony.[11]

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11 The goal of the type of non-formal education which Freire proposes in Pedagogy in Process is unmistakably a socialist one. The kind of socialist hegemony which the PAIGC sought to establish in Guinea Bissau was intended to run counter to that of Colonialism which characterized this impoverished nation for five hundred years.

He refers to Cabral's affirmation "that the middle-class intellectual needed the courage to commit class suicide before being reborn as a revolutionary worker, able to contribute to the struggle for liberation" (Freire, 1983: 116). This is, of course, what Cabral himself had done. He was one of the few intellectuals in a country which, during its colonial years, had an extremely elitist system of education. Suffice to mention one statistic: during five hundred years of colonial rule, Guinea Bissau produced only fourteen university graduates (Freire, 1978). While acknowledging the importance of middle-class intellectuals committing class suicide, Freire (1978) is convinced that, at the end of the day, "it is easier to create a new type of intellectual - forged in the unity between practice and theory, manual and intellectual work - than to reeducate an elitist intellectual" (p. 104). And one may add that, because of its infinitely greater accessibility, non-formal education characterized by 'praxis' is more likely than the university to produce such an intellectual. Such intellectuals, who would be 'organic', in the Gramscian sense of the word, to what is a predominantly peasant class, would be expected by Freire to further this cultural revolution and, in so doing, consolidate the new order. Pedagogy in Process, therefore, provides an example of Freire's Method being applied in the context of a situation where a radical political change has taken place and

provides an indication as to how Freire's methods may be applied to suit the specific needs of a particular country. The situation in some other part of the world may be so different from that obtaining in Guinea Bissau, one of the 'poorest of the poor' Third World nations, that it would necessitate an even more different adaptation of Freire's method. Freire is, after all, fully aware of the social and political constraints which may prevent a theory, that may have been successful in one context, from being applied in another. In this respect, Freire (1978) declares, "experiments cannot be transplanted; they must be reinvented" (p. 9).

4. Applicability in First World Context

Can Freire's experiments be "reinvented" in a First World context? Are there implications in Freire's theory of knowledge for the development of non-formal educational activities in the industrialized centres of Europe and North America?

These are some of the questions that emerge as one reads through Freire's work. One ought to state at the outset that bold demarcation lines between the First and Third World are very difficult to draw. There are features of the First World present in the Third World, for example, in the industrialized centres of Brazil and Mexico.

Conversely, there are also features of the Third World present in the First World, for example, in Italy's 'Mezzogiorno'. As Freire acknowledges:

> "From my experiences of living in the United States ..... I discovered the presence of the Third World in the First World, such as the ghettos in the United States. I also discovered vicious racial discrimination and linguisitic chauvinism, which is a form of racism. I simultaneously found and lived this reality" (Freire, 1985: 188).

The situation which Freire is referring to is also one characterized by oppressors and oppressed. And, of course, one can draw on a huge corpus of literature in the Sociology of Education to show that the educational system has a role to play in reproducing this unjust situation. As Giroux (1980, 83) has indicated, the conflict and contradictions which characterize the wider society are also reproduced by the educational system. As such, one may argue that Freire's methods may serve to render the oppressed of the First World aware of these contradictions, to resist such domination and provide a counter-culture. Of course, Freire's Method may prove more effective in this respect when applied outside the formal system itself, as a form of radical process of Adult Education. Freire's methods may easily be applied in relation to efforts aimed at community development. Freire's Method would also prove ideal for any movement genuinely concerned with the process of emancipation of the working class in industrialized

centres. It would prove ideal for any political movement concerned with the organization of the industrial proletariat as an effective political force.

In the previous Chapter, it was pointed out that, according to Gramsci, the subaltern classes aspiring to political domination should create their own culture, or rather a new counter-hegemonic 'culture-weltanschauung' (Torres, 1982: 93), while still in a state of subordination; that is prior to the rise to power. These classes must show that they can act as a ruling class before the time is ripe for them to govern, and, according to Gramsci, acting as a ruling class includes the process of "breaking the bourgeois hegemony over workers' minds" (cf. Gwyn Williams' statement in Entwistle, 1979: 15). Freire's work and method should prove beneficial in this respect. To begin with, it provides what should constitute an important feature of the new Culture-Weltanschauung, namely a re-definition of education from the point of view of the subaltern classes. Freire's exposition of the nature of a prescriptive education which suits the domination of the few over the many and his proposition of an alternative education characterized by participation and the use of popular knowledge appear to have universal applicability. Such theories appear relevant to both the situation of the Campesinos in the fields of Latin America

and to that of industrial workers labouring in a state of alienation in the factories of the First World.

Freire advocates that a participative, dialogical education should form the basis of what he appears to conceive of as some kind of participatory democracy. As such, his pedagogy would appear to be quite applicable in the context of a programme of adult education for effective worker participation in industry. The interrelation between adult education for conscientization and production, which, as already indicated, constitutes a very important feature of his theory as developed in Pedagogy in Process, renders Freire's pedagogy even more relevant to a process of workers' education for 'self-management'. One feels that Conscientization, characterized by reflection and transformative action in the world of work, should constitute a crucial aspect of an educational process destined to enable workers to assume control over their 'life-activity' and, therefore, succeed in combating 'alienation', in the Marxian sense of the word. One feels that Freire's Method can be incorporated into a wider framework of workers' education which would also include a process whereby workers, especially new recruits, are provided with knowledge of the entire production process

and not of just their assigned task.[12] It would appear that Freire's Method could easily be incorporated into a process of worker education.

One ought to remark that Freire's work had, on at least one occasion, been employed in the context of a process of education intended to enable workers gain control over their work environment. The situation in question was that which occurred in Chile during the 'Asentamiento' period. The process of 'Asentamiento' (ie. settling down) was intended by the, then, Christian Democrat Government to constitute a very crucial aspect of its Agrarian Reform. Even though the institutional framework of the Chilean experiment is likely to prove different from that which may characterize a similar project in a First World context, the foregoing example may still serve to show that Freire's pedagogy can easily form part of a process of education for worker participation. And such a process would be regarded by many educationists as providing the foundation for a participatory democracy, very much the kind of democracy which Freire seeks to promote.

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12 This would prevent them from becoming just a 'partial operation' in the productive process.

CHAPTER IV

A COMPARATIVE AND CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF GRAMSCI AND FREIRE'S IDEAS RELEVANT TO ADULT EDUCATION

Having provided separate expositions of Gramsci and Freire's views that are of relevance to Adult Education, one may now attempt to compare and contrast them. However, it would be inappropriate to commence an exercise of this sort without taking a close look at the context within which the two writers operated and of which their writings are a product. In the Introduction to this Thesis, their respective writings were contextualized historically and biographically. One feels, however, that a closer look at their respective contexts is warranted in a chapter wherein a comparative and contrastive analysis is made. One would have to explore the possibilities which the two historically and geographically separate contexts allow for such an exercise to be carried out.

There are parallels between their respective educational ideas. In the Second Section, therefore, I intend to draw out those that I consider to be the most important. The differences that exist will be discussed in the final part of the chapter.[1]

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1 No attempt at a sociology of knowledge is intended to be made in this Chapter.

1. A Contextual Comparison

Gramsci focussed his attention primarily on Western Capitalist society which, as has been shown earlier, he regarded as being characterized by the presence of an advanced industrial urban proletariat and a well-developed, refined 'Civil Society'. Freire, for his part, devoted his attention, for the most part of his work, to areas inhabited by landless peasants and marginal urban dwellers living within the periphery of the metropolis or major cities (Torres, 1982 : 88). Having said this, however, one should be wary of differentiating the contexts of Gramsci and Freire's writings in terms of such 'neat' categories as 'Developed and Underdeveloped', 'Industrial and Agrarian', or 'First World and Third World'. Some of the societies which are of great concern to Freire and Gramsci in their writings are much more complex than as would be suggested by such categories. In Chapter I, it was pointed out that Gramsci's Italy comprised vast areas characterized by underdevelopment. And one ought to reiterate that the situation obtaining in these areas constitute the subject of, arguably, some of Gramsci's finest pieces of writing[2]

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2 The situation has been described by Gramsci in 'Notes on Italian History', included in Selections from the Prison Notebooks, and 'The Southern Question', a piece of writing which was left unfinished as a result of his arrest. This piece is included in The Modern Prince and Other Writings.

(one needs no reminding that Gramsci was himself the product of such an environment).

As indicated in the same Chapter, farming was the main occupational activity in Italy's wayward South at the time of Gramsci's writings (Gramsci, 1954 : 42). Therefore, one of the main 'instrumental' classes[3] in this region was that of the peasants, many of whom must have shared some of the characteristics attributed to the 'campesinos' of Latin America, the people with whom Freire came into contact during his pedagogical activities in the 'Barrios' of North-eastern Brazil and the Chilean villages. Superstition and illiteracy feature prominently among such characteristics. The former is part and parcel of what Gramsci terms 'folklore' and, as already indicated, constituted an aspect of his upbringing in backward Sardinia (cf. Nairn, 1982 : 160). Illiteracy was rampant in these Southern areas. Hoare and Nowell Smith (1971) state that, in the region where Gramsci was brought up, ninety percent of the population could not read and write

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3 As Hoare and Nowell Smith (1971) point out, 'classi strumentali' (instrumental classes) was a term which Gramsci used interchangeably with the terms 'classi subalterne' (subaltern classes) or 'classi subordinate' (subordinate classes) - (cf. Gramsci, 1971 : 26).

(p. xviii).[4] Bearing this in mind, one may dare say that the context within which Gramsci operates is not entirely different from that in which Paulo Freire worked.

One must, here, also reiterate a point made in Chapter II, namely that the Region which furnished the background to most of Freire's writings is not one which is characterized solely by underdevelopment. For instance, in two of the countries with which Freire was directly concerned in his writings and educational activities, namely Brazil and Chile, one discovers urban areas where an extensive process of industrialization has taken and is still taking place. The same applies to Argentina and Mexico (Torres, 1982 : 88). Such processes are believed to give rise to "a sort of national indigenous bourgeoisie" (Torres, 1982 : 88).

The foregoing serves to underline the fact that the societies which provide the contexts for Gramsci and Freire's writings share an important feature. They are both characterized by uneven levels of development and may,

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4 This piece of information differs from that provided by Louis Coser in Masters of Sociological Thought. In his chapter on Vilfredo Pareto, Coser (1977) states that "even by 1918 the illiteracy rate in the South was still, depending on the region, between 50 and 70 percent, in contrast with Piedmont where it was 11 percent." (p. 414).

therefore, be regarded as contexts wherein aspects of the so-called 'First' and 'Third' Worlds co-exist.[5] The above considerations indicate that the respective contexts of Gramsci and Freire's writings are not as disparate as some would feel inclined to believe.

When considering their respective politico-biographical contexts, one is bound to note a number of affinities. Both Gramsci and Freire were not just social or educational theorists but men of action. They were engaged in activities of an 'educational' nature in areas characterized by an intense class-struggle.[6] As indicated in the Introduction, early twentieth century Turin was regarded by Gramsci as Italy's 'Petrograd' (Hoare, Nowell-Smith, 1971 : XXIV). Being the most advanced and combative in Italy, the

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5 It would be relevant to note the following comment by Henry Giroux (1985) regarding Freire's concept of the Third World: "his concept of the Third World is ideological and political rather than merely geographical" (p. xviii).

6 As Abercrombie et al (1984) point out, 'Class struggle' is a diversely used term. Among other things they posit: "In contemporary societies, class struggle is used to refer to conflict between social classes which occurs primarily at the economic level, manifest, for example, in wage bargaining, strikes or absenteeism" (p. 42). They also argue that, at the political level, it is manifest in such aspects as the reform of trade union law (pp. 42, 43). It is in this particular politico-economic sense that the term 'class struggle' is being used in this section of the Chapter. The societies in question were characterized by actions taken by the popular forces at the industrial level. The following accounts by Hoare, Nowell Smith (1971) and Torres (1982) refer to activities of this kind.

Turin working class, which drew people from diverse areas of the Peninsula, underwent a period of mobilization. It was gradually being organized into a political force and the situation throughout the City appeared to be 'ripe' for a revolution.

It ought to be reiterated (cf. Introduction) that Latin America, the context for most of Freire's writings and pedagogical work, witnessed "the relative advance and consolidation of the position of popular forces (particularly the working class through unions and left wing parties) under populist regimes" (Torres, 1982 : 77). This appears to be particularly true of Brazil, Freire's homeland, during the period when it was governed by the 'populist' administration of Joao Goulart. In this regard, there appears to be some similarity between the situations obtaining in Brazil during the early sixties, and Turin during the first quarter of the Century.

If one were to carry the parallel between Gramsci's Turin and Freire's Latin America even further, one may say that, in both cases, the popular forces must have taken heart from events occurring elsewhere in their respective regions. The Turin Working Class stepped up its revolutionary activity following the news that a

proletarian revolution had taken place in Russia, as a result of which the World's first Socialist Government had been installed. A similar revolution in the West appeared imminent (Hoare, Nowell Smith, 1971 : XXXII). Likewise, the Latin-American New Left of the late fifties and early sixties must have been inspired by the success of the Cuban Revolution, by virtue of which the Region's first Socialist State had been created. Torres (1982) considers this to be one of the reasons why Freire's work gained popularity in the sixties and seventies (p. 77).

The foregoing serves to show that affinities between the two historical contexts exist also in so far as the influence of external events is concerned. And the contextual parallels do not end there. As indicated earlier in this work, the radical political and educational activities among the masses in early twentieth century Turin and the Brazil of the late fifties and sixties were brought to a halt by counter-insurrectional activities of a repressive nature. Two years following the end of the Turin Factory Occupation, considered to be the last act of resistance against Fascism, and the subsequent collapse of the Factory Council Movement, Mussolini "marched" on Rome - the first in a series of important episodes in Italian history leading to the Fascist seizure of power.

Likewise, popular advancement in Brazil was brought to an abrupt end by the Military Coup d'etàt of 1964. One may say that, in both cases, the bourgeoisie sought to solve the "crisis of hegemony"[7] and establish a new bourgeois order by virtue of right wing dictatorships. It would also be relevant to remark, at this stage, that both Gramsci and Freire were regarded as a potential threat to the new social order created by the respective regimes. Harsh punishments were meted out to them, Freire having been banished from his homeland for a period lasting sixteen years and Gramsci having been sentenced to twenty years of imprisonment, a sentence which served to worsen his already precarious health condition and precipitate his death.

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7 The term 'crisis of hegemony' was employed by Gramsci with reference to a situation in which "the subordinate classes may overcome dominant-class control during periods of structural crisis..." (La Belle, 1986 : 49). As Carnoy (1982) points out, Gramsci maintains that there are periods in history during which social classes detach themselves from political parties and refrain from regarding the men leading them as the expression of their class interests (p. 88). There is a deterioration in the role of the State as the traditional means of maintaining hegemony (Carnoy, 1982 : 88). Consensus cannot be obtained and, therefore, there is a crisis of legitimation. Such a crisis may be caused by the unpopular actions of the ruling classes and increase in political activisim on the masses' part (Carnoy, 1982 : 88).

In the Latin American context, 'Crisis of hegemony' may be said to refer to a situation whereby the ruling classes cannot obtain consensus and therefore resort to greater repression. There is an increased dependence on the physical control mechanism of the State. This would be the cause of much division among the ruling classes. Factions of these classes would express grave concern as a result of which, fragile, new democracies may emerge.

Further biographical parallels can be drawn. Both Freire and Gramsci fell on hard times during their childhood. In Gramsci's case, this was caused by his father's arrest on charges of petty embezzlement, whereas, in Freire's case, this was very much the result of the 1929 U.S. Economic Crisis which affected Brazil and undermined the precarious stability of his middle class family (Shaull, 1970 : 10).[8]

The foregoing may serve to show that parallels may be drawn from their respective biographical contexts. There are also parallels between some of their respective pedagogical ideas relevant to adult education. These parallels will be discussed in the following section.

2. Parallels

At issue in this discussion on Gramsci and Freire's work is the relationship between education and politics. Both Gramsci and Freire stress this relationship in their

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8 Both appear to have suffered from a similar setback during their childhood. Because of their respective family misfortunes, both fell behind at school. In Freire's case, this was caused by the listlessness resulting from the hunger he experienced during the 1929 Economic Crisis (Shaull, 1970 : 10). In Gramsci's case, this was caused by the fact that, during his father's imprisonment, he had to go out to work since none of his brothers were employed (Hoare, Nowell Smith, 1971 : XIX).

writings and regard the educational sector as one of the most important battlegrounds wherein the struggle for supremacy among classes takes place. As previously indicated, both writers express their views on adult education within the context of this struggle. At the heart of their writings on the subject lies the tenet that, like all educational institutions, adult education cannot be neutral, although, as already stated, there is evidence to support the view the Gramsci intended forms of 'disinterested' knowledge to be incorporated into its content (cf. p. 62), alongside those partisan political truths which, he felt, should not be imparted by the schools (cf. p. 41).

Gramsci and Freire relate adult education, as all forms of education, to the process of domination of one class over another. In their view, it can either consolidate or run counter to a given process of domination. In Gramsci's case, adult education, together with all the other aspects of the ideological superstructure, has to be seen in the context of Hegemony, the term which stands for "the ideological predominance of bourgeois values and norms over the subordinate classes" (Carnoy, 1982 : 86). Freire too views adult education in this context and indicates, in his

writings on the subject, how traditional methods of teaching and a culturally alienating context serve to consolidate existing power relations (cf. Freire, 1970 : 61 ; Freire, 1985 : 45).

Being on the side of the subordinate groups (Freire's 'oppressed' and Gramsci's 'instrumental' or 'subaltern' classes) and committed to the cause of their liberation, both regard adult education as having the potential to become a counter-hegemonic force. As indicated earlier, Gramsci explores this potential in various aspects of the ideological superstructure, most notably in the factories themselves. Freire, for his part, explores this potential exclusively in the non-formal learning sector, mainly in the field of consciousness raising education. Both see in the respective sectors with which they were concerned, the potential for a counter-culture, a culture which represents the standpoint of the subordinate classes. In Gramsci's case, this would be a proletarian culture. In so far as Freire is concerned, this counter-culture would be that

which is referred to, in Latin American circles, as 'popular' culture.[9]

Their activities in this field appear to be motivated by a conviction that education, and therefore, adult education, can enjoy a relatively autonomous existence. In fact, the two of them reject evolutionary economic-determinist conceptions of history (Clark, 1977 : 51 ; Youngman, 1986 : 167), as a result of which their writings on education and, in Gramsci's case, other subjects, have none of that fatalism which the two deride at some stage in

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9 The term 'popular culture' is used in various ways. It can refer to a) a world view of the subordinate classes that challenges that context projected on them by the dominant classes, b) educational activities geared towards the expression and promotion of this view, c) cultural productions that express this view (at times, these can serve to mystify reality).

It has been argued, with reference to the Latin American context, that the kind of education that promotes this culture "must show the masses that they are dominated and oppressed, motivate them to analyze their reality, and dismantle the ideological mechanisms used by the dominant class for maintaining the status quo" (La Belle, 1986 : 282).

In assessing popular culture in Brazil, C. Estevam posits that it is a mediator between culture and revolution since it arouses political awareness with a view to generating mass political action (La Belle, 1986 : 286).

Freire's involvement with popular culture is indeed a strong one. Among other things, he was part of the Movimento de Cultura Popular in Recife in 1961 (La Belle, 1986 : 171). This movement used plays, leaflets, films and other means to direct attention to the people's own problems and, at the same time, raise socio-political issues.

their writing, Freire calling it "liberating fatalism" (Freire, 1985 : 179) and Gramsci describing it as "a theory of grace and predestination" (Gramsci, 1957 : 75).

The element of voluntarism makes its presence felt in several of their writings on education and political change. Gramsci's early writing is marked by a strong emphasis on the cultural and spiritual basis of revolutionary activity (Morrow, 1987 : 2) and this is probably what makes such work, including the several journalistic pieces on culture, relevant to adult education. This emphasis is also to be found in Freire's early writing (Youngman, 1986 : 162, 163). One may regard this particular feature of the two writer's early works as partly the product of Hegelian influences, although, in Gramsci's case, one would be more accurate in using the term 'neo-Hegelianism', the kind of idealist philosophy which he derived from his mentor, Benedetto Croce (Morrow, 1982 : 2 ; Youngman, 1986 : 184). In Freire's case, this Hegelianism derived from some of the Christian masters to whose influence he was exposed.

However, in their later writings, both Gramsci and Freire move from this idealist position and begin to reveal a greater awareness of the role of economic conditions in

the process of social and political change (Morrow, 1987 : 2 ; Youngman, 1986 : 63). In Gramsci's case, this is evident in his writings on the Turin Factory Councils and their role in the education of workers. In Freire's case, this awareness is revealed throughout his 1978 publication, Pedagogy in Process, where his proposed methods of popular education take into account the social relations of production (Morrow, 1987 : 2 ; Youngman, 1986 : 163). However, at no stage in the development of their respective ideas and adult education strategies is the role of human agency underplayed by the two writers in question. The importance of the role of human agency becomes even more pronounced in Gramsci's later work, where he explores the relationship between the masses and the party. It is here that he develops and elaborates his much celebrated theory of the Intellectuals, a theory regarding those individuals on whom it is incumbent to act as mediator between the masses and the party.

The role of the Intellectuals has been discussed at considerable length in Chapter I. Nevertheless, it would be worth reiterating that these intellectuals were intended to be members of that very same class of people whose interests they were to represent. As such, they are organic intellectuals. Moreover, although he stressed that

the proletarian masses should produce their own organic intellectuals, Gramsci felt that it would not be amiss for these masses to seek to assimilate traditional intellectuals. It is also worth recalling, within the context of a discussion on adult education, that Gramsci regarded the relationship between the Intellectuals and the masses as an 'educative' one (Merrington, 1977 : 168). As such, one ought to re-emphasize that those proletarian educators who functioned within the Turin proletarian cultural circles and the Factory Council Movement would have been regarded by Gramsci as organic intellectuals.

Having recapitulated the salient points of Gramsci's theory regarding the Intellectuals, it would now be opportune to recall a point made in Chapter II, namely that Freire draws on this theory when offering advice to the revolutionary leaders of Guinea Bissau regarding adult education programmes for the masses. Freire writes in terms of a "new type of intellectual" and of the possibility of "elitist intellectuals" committing 'class suicide' to integrate themselves with the peasant masses (Freire, 1978 : 104).

Despite the change in terminology, the views expressed by Freire with respect to the development of a 'new type of intellectual' in Guinea Bissau, appear to be a direct

borrowing from Gramsci. In fact, one may argue that Freire has the merit of having sought, in his African experience, to translate Gramsci's theory of the Intellectuals into political practice.[10] He suggests that students from the Lycée, and therefore the country's potential intellectuals, be encouraged to participate fully in programmes of popular education designed for the rural masses. These programmes were intended to consist of a process of learning inextricably intertwined with productive work. The potential intellectuals of the Country were, according to

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10 Perhaps one of the reaons why Freire avoids Gramsci's terminology is that the biological term 'organic' represents a somewhat reductionist view of the role of intellectual.

A series of questions emerge as one considers Gramsci's 'neat' categorization of intellectuals as either 'traditional' or 'organic'. Does Gramsci allow for the existence of other types of intellectuals such as progressive intellectuals with a strong, ethical commitment to a particular class? Would such an ethical commitment render this intellectual 'organic' in Gramsci's sense of the term? Furthermore, should not the concepts of a traditional or an organic intellectual be regarded as relative, depending on the historical period in question. Other questions emerge as one considers Gramsci's view of the 'organic' intellectual. The Italian theorist appears to have intended the proletarian organic intellectual to function in relation to the Party. He is conceived of as the mediator between the Party and the masses. Within the context of Gramsci's theory, how would one classify those intellectuals who refrain from acting in relation to a party since they prefer to explore the potential for social change inherent in the social movements? Perhaps Gramsci could not have foreseen the emergence of such an intellectual during the time in which he lived.

Some of the above considerations were inspired by conversations which I held with Professors, Carlos Torres and Harry Garfinkle.

Freire, to engage in the literacy and post-literacy processand participate in productive work alongside the peasants.[11] In short, the Lycée students were to teach the peasants and work with them (Freire, 1978 : 143). Through this particular method of socialization,[12] these students would be initiated into the process of becoming organic intellectuals.

Indeed the term 'organic intellectual' appears to be used in Latin American popular education circles where, as La Belle (1986) indicates, Gramsci's influence is very strong (p. 185). The term is used in the Christian Base Communities in Brazil where it is applied in relation to

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11 The Maoist influence on Freire is once again in evidence. Mao Tse Tung had emphasized that there should be no dichotomy between mental and physical labour. This was partly in reaction to the long standing Confucian maxim that the two ought to be separated. The issue of an absolute fusion between mental and physical labour came to the forefront during the 1967 Cultural Revolution. Julius Nyerere expresses similar views in a famous address, entitled 'Education for Self-Reliance'.

12 The theme of socialization or re-socialization of intellectuals, implicit in Gramsci's statement regarding the assimilation and ideological conquest of traditional intellectuals, was to re-emerge two years after the publication of Pedagogy in Process. The event in question was the Nicarguan Literacy Crusade (C.N.A.) of 1980, a crusade in which Freire had been involved in the capacity of consultant (Arnove, 1986 : 41). During this crusade, urban middle class school children and students were sent to the rural areas to act as 'brigadistas', teaching literacy to and living with the peasants themselves. They also shared in the latter's productive activities. Once again, potential intellectuals were being socialized in such a manner as to become at one with the masses.

adult educators of the Freirean type (Hewitt, 1987). And, indeed, it may be argued that Freire regards all his facilitators of learning as organic intellectuals, having stressed, throughout his writings, the strong relationship that should exist between them and the oppressed people on whose behalf they carry out their activities and with whom they both teach and learn. Freire uses such terms as "commitment" (Freire, 1970 : 78) and 'growing' with the group (Freire, 1971 : 61) in order to emphasize the sort of relationship which the facilitator should develop.

Gramsci no doubt emphasized the strong relationship which had to exist between the 'organic' intellectuals and the masses. He regarded it as incumbent on these intellectuals to direct the masses, tutoring that which is positive in what is referred to as the element of 'spontaneity'. These intellectuals are conceived as some kind of elite, in possession of a certain skill or body of knowledge considered superior to that of the rest. In his best known work, Freire appears to play down the superiority of such knowledge, applying equal status to the educator and the educatee. Yet, in his later work, he seems to modify his position by stating unequivocally that when the educator begins the dialogue, "he or she knows a great deal, first in terms of knowledge and second in terms of the horizon that she or he wants to get to" (Shor,

Freire, 1987 : 103). The teacher and student are therefore not on equal terms in so far as knowledge is concerned. Moreover, the teacher is also operating in a directive capacity, directing the educatee towards the political goal he has in mind. As a matter of fact, Freire emphasizes, to quote Ira Shor, "the directive responsibility and the competency of the teacher who begins a dialogical class" (Shor, Freire, 1987 : 103).

As is the case with Gramsci's organic intellectuals, Freire's facilitators of learning act in a directive capacity. Nonetheless, despite this directiveness and competence, the educator must not, in Freire's view, allow the authority which he or she commands, as a result of such attributes, to degenerate into authoritarianism (Shor, Freire, 1987 : 91). The relationship between the educator and the educatee must be a reciprocal one, a relationship whereby the former relearns the knowledge he already has, benefitting from what the latter has to offer in terms of ideas. This is based on a belief that one has a lot to learn from the oppressed: "...I usually and categorically argue that we must learn from the peasants" (Freire, 1985 : 177). The facilitator, therefore, teaches and learns concurrently. The same applies, of course, to the

educatee. The "teacher-student" acts together with the "student-teachers" (Freire, 1970 : 67). The relationship between the two is a dialectical one.

This is also true of the relationship, in Gramsci, between the organic intellectuals and the masses:

> "The process of development is tied to a dialectic between the intellectuals and the masses. The intellectual stratum develops both quantitatively and qualitatively, but every leap forward towards a new breadth and complexity of the intellectual stratum is tied to an analogous movement on the part of the mass of the 'simple', who raise themselves to higher levels of culture and at the same time extend their circle of influence toward the stratum of the specialized intellectuals, producing outstanding individuals and groups of greater or less importance"
>
> (Gramsci, 1971 : 334, 335 ; also cited in Entwistle, 1979 : 127).

This relationship has to be "active and reciprocal", one whereby "every teacher is always a pupil and every pupil a teacher" (Gramsci, cited in Merrington, 1977 : 169). This dialectical relationship which the organic intellectuals had to engage in as adult educators[13] was exemplified by Gramsci himself. Lajolo (1980) provides an account of how he managed to keep in contact with the workers, through non-formal adult education circles (eg. Club Vita Morale). It ought to be stressed that Gramsci

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13 'Adult education' is here being viewed in both its informal and non-formal aspects.

sought to educate the working class also through the means of journalism. As a matter of fact, 'L'Ordine Nuovo' was aimed at the political education of workers in the automobile factories of Turin (Entwistle, 1979 : 7). This informal adult educational process was, however, not conceived as a one way relationship. Lajolo (1980), for instance, relates how, following the closure of the Club Vita Morale, several students and workers used to visit Gramsci at his 'Avanti!' Office in order to discuss issues with him (p. 36). Entwistle (1979) quotes Davidson as saying that Gramsci was "an intellectual to whom workers could speak without fear of revealing their own ignorance" (p. 128).

Both Gramsci and Freire, therefore, argue for a dialectical relationship between the educators/organic intellectuals and the masses. This relationship appears to be crucial to the realization of two very important and interrelated concepts that underlie their respective writings relevant to adult education. The concepts are those of 'participation' and 'praxis'.

The two writers state that the actions of the organic intellectuals or learning facilitators should be intended to render the peasants or workers 'subjects' rather than

'objects'. In Freire's case, the learners participate in the unveiling of their own reality, in the creation of their own knowledge. Through a dialogical approach, they participate in the dissemination of knowledge among themselves, being teachers and learners at the same time. Their sense of participation in the unveiling of their own reality is further increased through the use of a 'problem-posing' (Freire, 1970 : 66), rather than a 'prescriptive' education. In Chapter III it was observed that, according to Freire, the latter approach serves to render the learner a passive, submissive being, prepared to leave decisions into the hands of others. Freire appears to be positing that, through a problem-posing approach to education, the learner would be able to acquire the decision-making skills necessary for him to become an active participant in the life of the community. The sense of a participative education becomes more apparent, in Freire's work, in those passages wherein he writes about the application of his methods in the context of agricultural production (eg. Freire, 1975 ; Freire, 1978). Quite revealing is the following passage relating to the adoption of Freire's literacy method during the Chilean Agrarian Reform:

> "'When all this land belonged to one latifundio' said another man in the same conversation, 'there was no reason to read and write. We weren't responsible for

anything. The boss gave the orders and we obeyed. Why read and write? Now it's a different story'" (Freire, 1975 : 22, 23).

With the Latifundium system having been done away with, it did become a different story for the peasants. These words were spoken during the 'Asentamiento', the period of settlement intended to precede that in which lands are assigned to the peasants (cf. footnote in Freire, 1975 : 23). Freire's method was being used as one of the vehicles whereby the peasants could educate themselves with a view to participating in the running of their own lands. One can here write in terms of adult education for a participatory agrarian democracy.

Likewise, if one takes into account Gramsci's Factory Council Theory, one can write in terms of adult education for a participatory industrial democracy. Here, the dialectical relationship between the intellectuals of the scientific-technical-administrative type and the workers was to be crucial for the transmission of those skills, productive and economic, that would enable the latter to "replace management's power in the factory" (Gramsci, cited in Mancini, 1973 : 5). This process of adult education was also intended to transform the worker from wage earner, an 'object' selling his labour, to producer, that is to say, a

'subject' capable of "experiencing the unity of the production process" and of regarding himself as an "inseparable part of the whole labour system" concentrated in the manufactured object (Gramsci, 1977 : 110). Gramsci appears to be saying that, only when becoming a 'subject', would the worker be in a position to participate actively in the entire production process.

In the foregoing accounts regarding a participative education, the two writers advocate a process of learning closely related to the educatee's material existence. The following citation from Marx's The German Ideology appears to be quite relevant in this regard:

> "The production of ideas, of conceptions, of consciousness, is at first directly interwoven with the material activity and the material intercourse of men, the language of real life."
> (cited in Tucker, 1978 : 154).

This idea from the early writings of Karl Marx must have exerted considerable influence on Freire, though not on Gramsci who could not have gained access to these manuscripts.[14] The quote, however, points to a very important tenet underlying Gramsci and Freire's writings: the people's conscious practical activity is the source of social transformation. This may be summed up by the term

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14 The German Ideology was first published in 1932 by the Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow (Tucker, 1978 : 146).

'praxis' which stands for the unity of thought and action, theory and practice.

As Youngman (1986) has shown, 'praxis' underlies Freire's writing on adult education, though, in his first three publications in the English language, the Brazilian educator uses the term in a manner reminiscent of the Early Marx. In these works, Freire posits that, through a participative, dialogical education, the educator and the educatees engage together in a search for knowledge. The former enables the learners to detach themselves from their social surroundings, the area of their day to day practical activity, and reflect upon them. This process of reflection is, in turn, intended to lead to further action. 'Action' and 'Reflection' are the key words in Freire's process of education through praxis and the relationship between the two is described as follows:

> "The act of knowing involves a dialectical movement which goes from action to reflection and from reflection upon action to a new action."
>
> (Freire, cited in Youngman, 1986: 171).

In such writings by Freire, the learners' cultural surroundings constitute the area of their practical activity. In Pedagogy in Process, however, Freire is more specific about the area in which the learners carry out their practical activities. It is the area wherein they

carry out their productive labour. And the 'praxis' engaged in becomes a collective one, a 'social practice' (cf. Youngman, 1986 : 172) in which "the struggle for production, class conflict and creative action are all dynamically interrelated" (Freire, 1978 : 89). In this work, therefore, Freire advocates that the organic intellectuals and the peasant masses engage together in a process of 'Adult Education through Praxis' characterized by a strong relationship between learning and production.

This version of Adult education through praxis is similar to that provided by Gramsci in some of his journalistic writings and most notably, in his Factory Council Theory. The relationship between education and production is a strong one in Gramsci's work, as may be evidenced from those writings wherein he explores forms of culture that stress the relationship between man and industry (this explains his shortlived fascination for 'Futurism'), writes about the 'Taylorization' of schooling and makes such assertions as:

> "the worker studies and works; his labour is study and study is labour. In order to be a specialist in his work, the worker on average puts in the same number of years that it takes to get a specialized degree. The worker, however, carries out his studies in the very act of doing immediately productive work... Having become dominant, the working class wants manual labour and intellectual labour to be joined in the schools and thus creates a new educational tradition."
>
> (Gramsci, 1985 : 43)

Elsewhere, Gramsci was to indicate that he did not intend this fusion between work and labour to be a feature of the school. In 'Sotto La Mole', for instance, he states that "The school if it is taken seriously does not have any time for the workshop, and vice-versa" (cited in Entwistle 1979 : 153). This point is confirmed in his writings on the Common School. At no stage, in this piece of writing, does Gramsci suggest the introduction of practical subjects into the school curriculum. As such, it is in the field of Adult Education that the process of learning through praxis takes place. This point is confirmed in his Factory Council Theory, probably his most elaborate theory on the interrelationship between production and adult education. The source of man's practical activity is the factory plant itself, the source whereby the worker "carries out his studies in the very act of doing immediately productive work." The organic intellectuals[15] enable him to understand the entire productive process from which he eventually gains an understanding of

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15 The organic intellectuals on the factory plant would engage in a dialectical educational relationship with the workers, assisting them in their praxis. They would be abetted in this respect by those other intellectuals, like Gramsci, who, though operating outside the plant, engage in a constant dialogue with the workers. These intellectuals would canvass the workers' views from which they would derive the necessary material to elaborate a revolutionary theory (Entwistle, 1979 : 164).

> "the nation which is at its base a gigantic organization of production, characterized by its exports and imports, by the commodities coming from all over the world.
>
> (cited in Mancini, 1973 : 6)

The notion of learning through praxis is therefore central to those writings by Gramsci and Freire relevant to adult education. However, it is in Pedagogy in Process, with his advocacy of an absolute fusion between learning and production, that Freire comes close to Gramsci's conception of praxis in adult education.

Praxis and the related concepts of dialogue and participation are, therefore, important features of the two writers' respective pedagogical theories. They also appear to constitute the hallmarks of a 'new society' towards the creation of which these writings are directed. One may argue, therefore, that Gramsci's Factory Council and Freire's Cultural Circle can each be regarded as a model of the 'new society'. With respect to this, Gramsci is on record as having asserted: "The Factory Council is the model of the proletarian state" (cited in Mancini, 1973 : 7). In his view, the Council was to give the masses "a cohesion and a form that do not differ from those which the masses take on in the general organization of society." (also cited in Mancini, 1973 : 7).

As for Freire, one can safely say that the concepts of dialogue and participation were not intended to be limited to the confines of the Cultural Circle but were considered central to his projected vision of a democratic society. For Freire, dialogue had to exist at all levels, between educator and educatee, revolutionary leader and masses. Moreover, as Thakur (1985) underlines, "According to Freire, political participation is the only way of knowing and learning to behave democratically" (p. 76).[16]

Because both the Factory Council and the Cultural Circle may be regarded as models for an alternative society, one can say, therefore, that the sort of educational activities carried out are a form of cultural preparation that precedes the creation of this society. They provide the means whereby the subaltern classes can,

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16 Central to Freire's view of political participation is the belief in reginal autonomy. Decentralization of power is considered by many to be conducive to greater mass participation. It would not be amiss to state that Freire could share this view. There are areas in his work, however, in which he seems to imply the need for national-popular integration and unifying political leadership. This is very much in evidence in Pedagogy in Process where he deals with the question of leadership and the role of the vanguard party (the PAIGC). There appears to be a perpetual tension in Freire between a desire for regional autonomy and the need for leadership and integration. This tension is also manifest in his writings on language where he deals with the issue of dialect and the standard language, an issue discussed in Chapter III and which will be addressed, once again, in the final part of the Chapter.

before they seize State power, establish their claim to be a ruling class not only in the political and ethical sense but also in the cultural one. This point had been stressed by Gramsci (Entwistle, 1979 : 14). Freire, for his part, appears to have made no statements to this effect. Nevertheless, it would be worth reiterating that, in Nicaragua, his methods lent themselves to popular education initiatives that took place before the Somoza overthrow (Arnove, 1986 : 8). And, as indicated in Chapter III, one may argue that these activities were a form of preparation of the masses for the kind of popular culture which the Sandinistas were to promote following the conquest of the State. As such, it would not be amiss to say that the Factory Council and the Cultural Circle could each be regarded as areas wherein the peasant or working class can develop a new Culture - Weltanschauung, a coherent world view.

Both Gramsci and Freire explore, in their respective writings relevant to adult education, ways and means by which such a Culture - Weltanschauung may be developed. Both explore the role which cultural productions can play in this regard. It has already been indicated that Gramsci sought potential in both popular culture and highbrow art. Freire, for his part, has the merit of having encouraged

his circle members to create their own cultural artifacts, in the form of reading material developed out of their own recorded conversations.

Central to the development of this common culture, however, is the problem of language. Despite his belief in the virtues of dialects, their "unwritten grammar" and their "unrecognized beauty" (Shor, Freire, 1987 : 72), Freire has come to appreciate the importance of a language which serves as a source of unity and organization for the Oppressed. He even states that it is important for the Oppressed to learn the standard language, since such knowledge would enable them to survive in the power struggle.[17] However, he more strongly advocates the use of national-popular languages. This may be evidenced from his reflections on his African experiences. As indicated, the use of Portuguese rather than Creole in his literacy activities in Guinea Bissau, a country where thirty different languages and dialects are spoken (Freire, Macedo, 1987 : 108), had disastrous consequences. Throughout these reflections, therefore, Freire stressed

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17 In this passage, Freire states that the standard language contains the ruling ideology. Nevertheless, he stresses that teachers committed to the working class should not deny their students knowledge of this language. However, he goes on to state that, while teaching this language, the teacher should discuss its political ingredients with the students (Shor, Freire, 1987 : 71, 72).

the need to use, where possible, such national-popular linguistic creations as Creole (Freire, Macedo, 1987 : 115).

Gramsci, too, stressed the use of language for 'national-popular unity' in Italy, a country where several different dialects are spoken. Gramsci expressed such views at a time when eighty percent of Italians still spoke dialect for most purposes (cf. footnote in Forgacs, Nowell Smith, 1985 : 43). While acknowledging the need for teachers to understand peasant speech, he still felt that the mastery of the common standard version of the national language was necessary for the working class not to remain at the periphery of the national and political life (Entwistle, 1979 : 25).

It may be said that both Freire and Gramsci stress the importance of a common language that would provide the basis for a common culture. It is felt that a common language and a common culture would provide the Oppressed, or the subaltern classes, with a strong sense of unity.

The question of language and its role in the creation of a common culture is the last in a number of issues discussed in this section of the Chapter. The

considerations involved were made with the express purpose of revealing the parallels that exist between Gramsci and Freire's views relevant to adult education. That such parallels exist is hardly surprising, given that, according to Thomas La Belle (1986), Antonio Gramsci is "probably the most frequently cited Marxist associated with popular education" (p. 185), the kind of adult education, one may add, of which Paulo Freire is the foremost representative.

It would be inappropriate, however, to draw out the parallels and overlook completely the many differences that exist between their ideas relevant to adult education. It is to a consideration of these differences that this Chapter now turns.

3. Differences.

Political affiliation is one of the features that renders Gramsci's biographical context different from that of Freiré. Many of Gramsci's political activities in Turin were carried out in relation to a political party or organization, namely the Italian Socialist Party (P.S.I.) between the years 1913-1921 and the Italian Communist Party (P.C.I.) from 1921-1926. There is no evidence in Freire's writings to suggest that the Brazilian educator was affiliated with and carried out his andragogical

experiences in relation to a particular political party or organization. As such, his pedagogical ideas cannot be seen against a backdrop of years of intense political participation on behalf of particular party or organization embracing a specific political ideology.

By contrast, many of Gramsci's ideas that are of relevance to Adult Education have to be seen in relation to the aforementioned years of party or political group involvement. Even those fragmentary writings of his that have been collected from his thirty three prison notebooks have to be seen in relation to this background, although it is possible that some may regard these writings as a form of disinterested scholarship. In short, one must never lose sight of the fact that Gramsci was first and foremost a political theorist, whereas Freire is essentially a political pedagogue. This difference is somehow reflected in their writings that are of relevance to adult education.

Because of his political involvement and leadership (it should not be forgotten that Gramsci became the P.C.I.'s Secretary General in 1924), Gramsci was very much concerned with tactics and strategies that would enable the proletariat to gain access to power. His ideas which are of relevance to Adult Education were therefore conceived as part of an attempt to formulate a general strategy for the

conquest of power. This strategy becomes clear in Gramsci's Prison Writings. One can therefore safely say that Gramsci's adult education ideas do not exist in a vacuum but, on the contrary, are supported by a revolutionary theory which is explicit and has a certain degree of coherence, despite the fact that it is formulated best in a work which is fragmentary in outlook. In the first two sections of Chapter I, some of the most important aspects of Gramsci's theory were discussed, namely the relationship between State and Civil Society, Hegemony, the Intellectuals, war of position and war of manouvre.

It has often been argued (eg. Youngman, 1986) that Freire does not have a revolutionary theory to support his pedagogical ideas. This is probably true to the extent that such a theory is not rendered explicit in Freire's work, although Pedagogy in Process would be an exception in this regard. This is not to say, however, that the elements for a revolutionary theory do not exist in his

work.[18] In Freire's writings, Christian and Marxian ideals co-exist in a manner which recaptures the "spirit and ideological dynamics that have both informed and characterized the theologies of liberation that have emerged primarily from Latin America since the early 1970s" (Giroux, 1985 : XVII).

The relationship of Freire's work and Liberation Theology has been discussed in Chapter III. What needs to be reiterated at this stage is that these ideals did translate into political reality in the country where the second successful revolution in the Region took place, namely Nicaragua. Christian and Marxist ideals were a source of inspiration to the Sandinista Movement both before and after the Revolution and appear to have their vivid embodiments in the figures of Ernesto and Fernando

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18 It would be relevant to note that Marxian ideals inform his theory. His first publications in the English language are influenced by the kind of theory found in such early works by Marx as the Theses on Feuerbach, The German Ideology and The Holy Family. The Marxian influence is, however, at its greatest in the Pedagogy in Process where Freire attempts to come to grips with the economic conditions of an impoverished nation and where, therefore, Capital Vol. 1 becomes a very important source of reference.

As Youngman (1986) and Giroux (1985) point out, Christian ideals also constitute a feature of his works' underlying philosophy. For instance, such Christian ideals as 'love' and 'hope' are considered as important elements in a process of liberation through 'praxis' (Freire, 1970 : 29).

Cardenal, the two priests who are Minister of Culture and Minister of Education respectively in the revolutionary Government of Nicaragua. The foregoing may be taken as an indication that there is revolutionary potential in the Christian-Marxist ideals underlying Freire's philosophy. The problem, though, is that these ideals are not developed into an explicit revolutionary theory, one which lays bare a strategy whereby existing power relations can be changed, and which would no doubt render Freire's pedagogical ideas more meaningful in the context of a revolution. This is perhaps one of the fundamental differences between Gramsci and Freire's writings relevant to adult education.

The revolutionary theory which supports Gramsci's adult education ideas appears to be all-embracing. Because he was first and foremost a political ideologue acting in the service of the worker's political party, Gramsci was concerned with the revolutionary process in its entirety and not with just one of its aspects. For this reason, his theoretical works cover a wide range of subjects and, not surprisingly, therefore, his writings that are relevant to Adult Education encompass various aspects of the ideological superstructure. As indicated in Chapter II, these include writings on so-called highbrow and 'popular' culture, the Media and such potential sources of workers'

education as the Turin Factories themselves. In stark contrast, Freire restricts himself, for the most part of his work, to consciousness-raising engaged in at the level of popular education, and writings on the educational role of the church.[19] Perhaps, being a pedagogue rather than a committed and influential political ideologue, he was primarily concerned in his writings with that specific area of which he had direct vocational experience (A Pedagogy for Liberation appears to be a notable exception in this regard).

There are obviously other reasons that would account for such a difference, including biographical ones. Gramsci's great experience as a full time journalist may be one of them. It must have brought him into direct contact with various aspects of the ideological superstructure. For instance, during his time as writer and, later, as sub-editor of the regional edition of 'Avanti!', the P.S.I.'s daily, he wrote nearly two hundred articles on the Theatre and a number of other pieces on topical cultural and theoretical issues (Forgacs, Nowell Smith, 1985 : 16). These activities no doubt placed him in a position from where he could observe at close quarters the City's

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19 One must not overlook the fact that Freire has the undeniable merit of creating an entire and revolutionary philosophy of education out of his writings on such aspects of adult education.

cultural life. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that this aspect of the ideological superstructure should feature prominently in his writings that are of relevance to Adult Education.[20] In focussing on Gramsci's journalistic activities, one would be going some way towards explaining the reason for this difference between his writings and those of Paulo Freire.

The main reason, however, may well lie in the fact that the focus of their activities, which provided the basis for their writings, was markedly different. It ought to be remembered that Gramsci carried out his work in a city which had all the makings of an industrially developed centre, a typically Western European metropolis with a refined 'Civil Society' and, most important, from the standpoint of his work, a tradition of industrial organization.[21]

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20 These journalistic writings must also have provided Gramsci with the necessary experience whereby he could utilize effectively newspapers and periodicals as instruments of education for workers.

21 The emphasis in Gramsci's writings relevant to adult education was placed on the need for the working class to be organized into an efficient political force. At the time, several vehicles for the organization of the working class existed in Turin. These included the craft and industrial unions, the labour chambers and, most important, the Confederazione Generale del Lavoro (C.G.L.) - (Mancini, 1973 : 2). The Commissioni Interne (Internal Commissions) constituted another vehicle. They represented the means for worker representation at the plant level and Gramsci sought to convert them into factory councils (Mancini, 1973 : 4, 5).

Had Freire operated, in his capacity as adult educator, in any of the industrially advanced centres of Latin America, then his writings on adult education could possibly have encompassed a variety of aspects of the ideological superstructure.[22] However, as indicated earlier, he operated among the rural masses (this applies to both his African and Latin American experiences) and among marginal urban dwellers, with a recent peasant past, living on the outskirts of the city (Torres, 1982 : 88). According to Torres (1982), the illiterates are concentrated, in equal measure, in these two areas (p. 88). It is only natural, therefore, that literacy training should constitute the prime focus of Freire's writing.

The issue of literacy immediately leads to a consideration of another noticeable difference between those writings by Gramsci and Freire that are pertinent to the topic of adult education. Freire writes almost exclusively on a literacy education while Gramsci almost completely neglects this aspect of the adult education process. There seem to be few if any references to the problem of literacy in Gramsci's writings. This would immediately appear to be understandable, given the focus,

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22 In A Pedagogy for Liberation, Freire ventures into the sort of issues one associates with such industrial centres.

in his writings, on Piedmont where, according to Coser (1977), the illiteracy rate in 1918 stood at eleven per cent (p. 414). Nevertheless, one must not overlook the fact that Gramsci attached a lot of importance in his writings to the problem of the South, that part of Italy from where he hailed and which constitutes the subject of some insightful writings on his part. It ought to be reiterated that he considered the Peasant Class of this impoverished region as indispensable for the creation of a workers' state characterized by 'national popular' unity. Given such considerations in his writings, and his first hand knowledge of the area in question, it is somewhat surprising that he should fail to address the issue of illiteracy which, as already indicated, was widespread in the South.[23]

One explanation could be that Gramsci viewed the question regarding the liberation of the Southern peasants within the context of an alliance of classes, under the leadership of the industrial proletariat:

> "...we favoured a very realistic and not at all 'magic' formula of the land for the peasants; but we wanted it to be realized inside the framework of the general revolutionary action of the two allied classes, under the leadership of the industrial proletariat" (Gramsci, 1957 : 30).

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23 See footnote 3.

The industrial proletariat had to exercise leadership and create its own 'historic bloc' by virtue of an alliance with other classes, particularly the Southern peasant class. In order to secure the consent of such classes, it had to demonstrate that it could lead and, therefore, that it was worthy of being the new ruling class. Given the role that he assigned to the industrial proletariat, Gramsci must have regarded as of immediate importance an adult education process capable of instilling in its members the essential qualities of sound organization, good leadership, and cultural awareness. This type of adult education must have been given top priority by Gramsci and this may go some way towards explaining why Gramsci focussed almost exclusively on a process of adult education for the northern industrial proletariat. In his view, the onus of preparation for the role of leadership fell on this particular class rather than on that of the impoverished Southern peasants.

Freire, for his part, does not appear to have shared this view, with respect to the countries in which he worked. Walker (1980) states that, like Mao, Freire finds greater revolutionary potential in the peasantry than in the urban proletariat. He points to a passage in Freire which seems to confirm this: "large sections of the

oppressed form an urban proletariat, especially in the more industrialized centres of the country. Although these sectors are occasionally restive they lack revolutionary consciousness and consider themselves privileged. Manipulation with its series of deceits and fertile promises, usually finds fertile soil here." (Freire cited in Walker, 1980 : 137, 138). In order to be able to accomplish the task of liberation, the peasants have to overcome the problem of illiteracy which is very acute among them. He must have felt that, through their engagement in a process of literacy education aimed at consciousness raising, the conditions for a revolution would gradually begin to develop. Furthermore, his African experiences provided him with a situation where the illiterate peasants had a crucial role to play in the process of consolidation of independence (this normally involves a process of liberation or 'decolonization' of the minds). One ought to remember that the peasants in Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde, Sao Tome' and Principe could not rely on the 'leadership' of an industrial proletariat since such a class was virtually non-existent in these countries (Torres, 1982 : 88).

Freire stresses the importance of literacy training among the underprivileged rural masses. He regards literacy training as a "set of practices that functions to

either empower or disempower people" (Freire, Macedo, 1987 : VIII). He therefore argues that literacy has to be seen as a form of 'cultural politics' (Freire, Macedo, 1987 : VIII). The question which he appears to be posing is: whose culture should constitute the source of learning in the literacy programme? And, as has been shown in Chapter II, Freire believes that the culture of the ruling middle class would serve to render literacy training, among the underprivileged, a process of 'domestication'. It would serve to continue to disempower the 'oppressed'. Freire, of course, believes that, in order to serve as a means of political empowerment for the Oppressed, a literacy education must be closely related to their cultural and material surroundings. Therefore, in Freire's proposed process of adult education, the culture of the learner constitutes the basis of the whole programme. As indicated in Chapter II, this is rooted in the belief that, in being able to focus on their own culture, the Oppressed would be in a position to perceive the contradictions governing their reality. As such, it appears from his writings that Freire considered the culture of the Oppressed to be the appropriate source of their own knowledge.

Gramsci differs from Freire in this respect He believed that the culture of the Oppressed is valid only in

part. Gramsci felt that it contains elements of what he calls 'folklore', elements that serve to distort the Oppressed's 'weltanschauung', rendering it a fragmentary one. This is a view which Freire must share, considering his frequent references to the role which superstititon, magic and traditional religious beliefs can play in maintaining the Oppressed in a position of subjugation (cf. Freire, 1985 : 131). Freire would no doubt argue that a process of 'conscientization' through literacy would serve to do away with such distorting elements..

Gramsci would have posited, however, that an education process rooted only in the Oppressed's culture would not be sufficient to provide them with a more coherent world view. As indicated in Chapter I, Gramsci felt that it was the role of the organic intellectuals (Gramsci would regard the adult educators of the working class as organic intellectuals) to convert 'common sense' (ie. 'untutored' popular philosophy) into 'good sense'. Gramsci felt that, in order to do this, the organic intellectuals, in their capacity as educators, had to be engaged in a continuous effort to combine those positive aspects of one's own culture with aspects of those forms of knowledge which have withstood the test of time and are the product of specialized scholars. It should be reiterated that Gramsci

believed that the authority of these scholars derived not from social but from intellectual criteria (Entwistle, 1979 : 36).

As also indicated in Chapter I, Gramsci considered the latter type of knowledge to be an integral part of the cultural heritage of civilization. It is the knowledge which "mankind has accumulated under the yoke of capitalist society, landlord society and bureaucratic society" (cited in Entwistle, 1979 : 44). It may be argued, therefore, that, unlike Freire, Gramsci attached importance to what, for the purposes of brevity, may be termed 'standard knowledge'. And as indicated in Chapter 1, it is reasonable to assume that this applies both to his writings on the School and to those dealing with the education of adults.

Historical information may be regarded as part of this knowledge. And, as indicated earlier, Gramsci must have considered such knowledge relevant to a process of adult education, considering it as part and parcel of the 'baggage' which the working class needed to be able to develop its own culture out of that culture which he regarded as the product of civilization. Gramsci must also have felt that such information would render the discourses and opinions of workers informed ones (Entwistle, 1979 :

47). This may be evinced by the fact that one of the reasons why he denounced the Gentile Reforms was because they were destined to deny working class pupils a wealth of 'objective' knowledge, consisting of dates, facts, figures and names:

> "previously, the pupils at least acquired a certain 'baggage' or 'equipment' (according to taste) of concrete facts. Now that the teacher must be specifically a philosopher and aesthete, the pupil does not bother with concrete facts and fills his head with formulae and words which usually mean nothing to him, and which are forgotten at once." (Gramsci, 1971 : 36)

This quote has been extracted from a piece of writing dealing exclusively with the education of children. Nevertheless, it appears to be quite relevant to the process of adult education that Gramsci proposed. It is relevant not only to the area of the cultural preparation of workers but also to that of technical education. The latter was considered by Gramsci to be an essential component of that process of vocational education which the trade union and the factory council, together, had to provide (Entwistle, 1979 : 147). For even technical education involves the mastery of a certain 'standard' knowledge and facts.

It would therefore be legitimate to assume that Gramsci intended proletarian adult education to entail the transfer

of a certain amount of concrete facts. And, as Entwistle (1979) points out, the emphasis which Gramsci places on such a baggage of 'facts' suggests that he "held a view of learning which is not inconsistent with the notion, now used pejoratively, of education as banking..." (p. 47). For Gramsci, education had to be intertwined with instruction, the process whereby such 'facts' had to be transmitted. It is common knowledge that Freire considers 'banking education' to be anathema, a point underlined in Chapter III. In this Chapter, it was stated that Freire lists a number of features that characterize 'banking education', features that convey the impression that, under this system, the learners are 'depositories' or 'receptacles' to be filled with knowledge. They are passive recipients of information and, therefore, objects rather than 'subjects' of the learning process.

Gramsci writes to the contrary. He believed that there cannot be a passive learner, a "mechanical" recipient of abstract knowledge (Gramsci, 1971 : 34). Learners were considered by Gramsci to be active beings, capable of restructuring the knowledge they receive and using it for their own ends (Entwistle, 1979 : 66). He believed that they re-fashion it according to their individual

consciousness which, he argued, reflects the social and cultural relations to which they are exposed (Gramsci, 1971 : 35). Once again, this point was made by Gramsci in relation to the schooling of children. Nevertheless, it would equally have been applied in relation to adults. For an adult can perform this task of assimilation even better, given that, because of his experience, his consciousness reflects a much broader set of social and cultural relations.

Gramsci must have, therefore, considered a certain amount of 'banking' education necessary in a process of adult education and there is biographical evidence to show that he did indulge in this type of education, delivering talks with the air of a "Marxist Head Prefect" (Gwyn Williams cited in Entwistle, 1979 : 182). However, other biographical accounts show that, as an adult educator, Gramsci led discussions and was ever so receptive to the ideas of his worker-students. Lajolo (1980) remarks that, during the heated discussions which took place at the Club Vita Morale, Gramsci did not do much talking, limiting himself to offering suggestions regarding ethical conduct, requesting the clarification of certain views or making some objections with a view to preventing contradictory

arguments. His was the attitude of the socratic teacher, a patient educator who refutes rhetoric and demagoguery (p. 35).[24]

All this may indicate that, while acknowledging the importance of instruction, of the transmission of concrete facts, Gramsci believed in the validity of dialogue as a form of adult education. It had to be characterized, however, by informed opinions, by the expression of statements substantiated by concrete facts. As indicated in his criticism of the Gentile Reforms, he believed that, without such concrete information, dialogue degenerates into verbalism, rhetoric, a point confirmed throughout the above account of his conduct during the discussions. It is this consideration which made Gramsci regard a certain amount of instruction, of banking education, necessary.

However, the questions to be asked at this stage are: Can concrete facts be transmitted in a dialogical manner? Does instruction necessarily have to be 'banking

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24 This point has been paraphrased from Laurana Lajolo's biography of Gramsci, entitled: GRAMSCI - un uomo sconfitto. The relevant paragraph reads as follows: "Durante le accese discussioni del 'Club di vita morale' Gramsci non parla molto: preferisce dare suggerimenti di comportamento etico, o chiedere precisazioni e avanzare obiezioni al fine di evitare il procedimento contraddittorio dei ragionamenti, con l'atteggiamento del maestro socratico, dell'educatore paziente ed appassionato, che rifiuta i discorsi retorici e demagogici." (Lajolo, 1980 : 35).

education'? There is little evidence in Gramsci's writings to suggest that he attempted to answer them. The same cannot be said of Freire, especially when taking into consideration one of his recent works.

In A Pedagogy for Liberation, Freire attempts to explore the possibilities for dialogue offered by a method of teaching traditionally associated with 'banking education' - the lecture. Freire believes that lecturing does not have to be a form of 'banking education' and that it is possible to have a critical lecturer, one who would use his speech as an oral codification of a problem to be decodified by the educatee and the educator together (Shor, Freire, 1987 : 39, 40). He posits that the lecturer should use his speech as an instrument of unveiling reality.[25]

Banking education remains anathema to Freire even in the context of lecturing, a mode of teaching which has been and still continues to be favoured in adult education circles. Gramsci, however, appears to have recognized a certain validity in this type of teaching, without which education becomes mere 'educativity'.

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25 One assumes that Freire is referring here both to method and content. Certainly the degree of success would vary according to the individual attributes of the various teachers. Needless to say, a gifted teacher has a greater chance of being successful in rendering his speech on oral codification of a problem to be solved. This interesting point warrants greater elaboration by Freire.

From the foregoing discussion of some of the differences between Gramsci and Freire's ideas relevant to adult education, one may arrive at the conclusion that each of the two theorists appears to stress aspects which the other either overlooks or underplays. In comparing their respective ideas, therefore, one might be providing the basis for a synthesis, provided that the complementarity can be seen This synthesis will, however, have to be developed at a higher level of theoretical discussion.

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